THE POETICAL WORKS

OF

JOHN MILTON



Engraved by Edwd. Radclyffe.

MILTON, ÆTAT. 10.

From a Photograph from the original picture in the possession of

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THE POETICAL WORKS

OF

JOHN MILTON:

EDITED,
WITH MEMOIR, INTRODUCTIONS, NOTES, AND
AN ESSAY ON MILTON'S ENGLISH
AND VERSIFICATION,

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PARADISE REGAINED AND SAMSON AGONISTES.

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME III.

INTRODUCTION

TO PARADISE REGAINED.

Paradise Regained seems to have been complete in manuscript before the publication of *Paradise Lost*. This we infer from an interesting passage in the Autobiography of the Quaker Thomas Ellwood, in which he gives an account of the origin of *Paradise Regained*, and claims the credit of having suggested the subject to Milton. We have already seen (Introduction to *Paradise Lost*, p. 22,) how young Ellwood, visiting Milton, in 1665, at the cottage in Chalfont St. Giles, Buckinghamshire, where he was then residing to avoid the Great Plague in London, had a manuscript given him by the poet, with a request to read it at his leisure, and return it with his judgment thereon. On taking this manuscript home with him, Ellwood tells us, he found it to be *Paradise Lost*. He then proceeds as follows:—"After I had, with the best attention, read it through, I made him another visit, and returned him his book, with due acknowledgment of the favour he had done me in communicating it to me. He asked how I liked it, and what I thought of it; which I modestly, but freely, told him: and, after some further discourse about it, I pleasantly said to him, 'Thou hast said much here of *Paradise Lost*; but what hast thou to say of *Paradise Found*?' He made me no answer, but sate some time in a muse, then brake off that discourse and fell upon another subject. After the Sickness was over, and the city well cleansed and become safely habitable again, he returned thither. And, when, afterwards, I went to wait on him there (which I seldom failed of doing, whenever my occasions drew me to London), he showed me his second poem, called *Paradise Regained*, and in a pleasant tone said to me, 'This is owing to you;

for you put it into my head by the question you put to me at Chalfont, which before I had not thought of.'"[1] The inference from this passage may certainly be that the poem was at least begun in the cottage at Chalfont St. Giles (say in the winter of 1665-6), and that, if not finished there, it was finished in Milton's house in Artillery Walk, shortly after his return to town in 1666. When *Paradise Lost*, therefore, was published in the autumn of 1667, its sequel, though kept back, was ready.

According to this calculation, the poem remained in manuscript for about four years. It was not published till 1671, when *Paradise Lost* had been in circulation for four years, and when the first edition of that poem must have been nearly, if not quite, exhausted,—for that edition was restricted to 1500 copies at the utmost, and Milton's receipt for the second five pounds, due, by agreement, on the sale of 1300 of these copies, bears date April 26, 1669. But, for some reason or other, Simmons, the publisher of *Paradise Lost*, was delaying a second edition of that poem, —which did not appear till 1674. It may have been owing to dissatisfaction with this delay on Milton's part that he did not put *Paradise Regained* into Simmons's hands, but had it printed (as appears) on his own account. Conjoining with it *Samson Agonistes*, which he had also had for some time by him, or had just composed, he issued the two poems in a small octavo volume of 220 pages, with this general title-page—"*Paradise Regain'd. A Poem. In IV. Books. To which is added Samson Agonistes. The Author John Milton. London, Printed by J. M. for John Starkey at the Mitre in Fleetstreet, near Temple Bar. MDCLXXI.*" There is no separate title-page to *Paradise Regained;* which commences on the next leaf after this general title, and extends to p. 112 of the volume. Then there is a separate title-leaf to *Samson Agonistes;* which poem, occupying the rest of the volume, is separately paged. On the last leaf of the whole volume are two sets of *Errata*, entitled "Errata in the former Poem" and "Errata in the latter Poem."

Not Samuel Simmons of the Golden Lion in Aldersgate

[1] The History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood, second edition (1714), pp. 246, 247.

Street, the publisher of *Paradise Lost*, it will be seen, but John Starkey, of the Mitre in Fleet Street, was the publisher of the new volume. He was, however, the publisher only, or agent for the printer "J. M." Such, at all events, is the inference of so good an authority in such matters as the late Mr. Leigh Sotheby, who, after quoting the title of the volume, as above, adds: "It is interesting here to notice that the initials of Milton occur in the imprint as the *printer* of the volume. Such was frequently the case when a work was printed solely at the expense of the author."[1] In connexion with which observation we may here note the entry of the volume in the books of the Stationers' Company:—

Septemb. 10, 1670: Mr. John Starkey entered for his copie, under the hands of Mr. Tho. Tomkyns and Mr. Warden Roper, a copie or Booke Intituled Paradise regain'd, A Poem in 4 Bookes. The Author John Milton. To which is added Samson Agonistes, a drammadic [*sic*] Poem, by the same Author.

The volume itself furnishes an additional item of information. On the page opposite the general title-page at the beginning is this brief imprint, "Licensed, July 2, 1670," —from which it appears that the necessary licence had been obtained by Milton from the censor Tomkyns. Apparently Tomkyns gave this licence more easily than he had given that for *Paradise Lost*.

The volume containing the first editions of *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* is handsome enough in appearance,—the paper thicker than that of the first edition of *Paradise Lost*, and the type more distinct and more widely spaced. But the printing, especially the pointing, is not nearly so accurate. Within the first few pages one finds commas where there should be full stops or colons, and *vice versâ*, and becomes aware that the person or persons who assisted Milton in seeing the volume through the press cannot have been so careful as those who performed the like duty for the former poem,—where, though the pointing is not our modern pointing, it rarely conflicts with the sense.

Whatever was the number of copies printed, it sufficed the demand during the rest of Milton's life, and for six

[1] Ramblings in the Elucidation of the Autograph of Milton, 1861 p. 83.

years beyond. When he died in 1674, there was a second edition of the *Paradise Lost*, to be followed by a third in 1678; but it was not till 1680 that there was a second edition of the *Paradise Regained* and *Samson*. It was brought out by the same publisher, Starkey, and is of inferior appearance and getting-up to the first,—the size still small octavo, but the type closer, so as to reduce the number of pages to 132. The title-pages remain the same; but the two poems are now paged continuously, and not separately. There seems to have been no particular care in revising for the press, for errors noted in the list of errata in the former edition remain uncorrected in the text of this.

Third editions, both of the *Paradise Regained* and of the *Samson*, appeared in folio in 1688, sold, either together or separately, by a new publisher,—Randal Taylor; and these are commonly found bound up with the fourth or folio edition of *Paradise Lost*, published by another bookseller in the same year. From this time forward, in fact, the connexion between *Paradise Regained* and *Samson*, originally accidental, is not kept up, save for mere convenience in publication. The tendency was to editions of all Milton's poetical works collectively,—in which editions it was natural to put *Paradise Lost* first, then *Paradise Regained*, then *Samson Agonistes*, and after these the *Minor Poems*. The greater demand for *Paradise Lost*, however, making it convenient to divide the Poetical Works in publication, two methods of doing so presented themselves. On the one hand, there was an obvious propriety, if the Poems were to be divided at all, in detaching *Paradise Regained* from *Samson* and the rest, and attaching it to *Paradise Lost;* and, accordingly, there are instances of such conjoint editions of *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*, apart from the other poems, in 1692, 1775, and 1776. But a more convenient plan, mechanically, inasmuch as it divided the Poems collectively into two portions of nearly equal bulk, was to let *Paradise Lost* stand by itself in one or more volumes, and throw *Paradise Regained*, *Samson*, and the *Minor Poems* together into a separate issue in one or more volumes,—the two sets combinable or not into a collective edition. This plan, first adopted by Tonson, in 1695, has prevailed since.

There is not the least reason for doubting Ellwood's statement as to the way in which the subject of *Paradise Regained* was suggested to Milton. There is no such evidence as in the case of *Paradise Lost* of long meditation of the subject previous to the actual composition of the poem. Among Milton's jottings, in 1640-1, of subjects for dramas or other poems (see Introduction to *Paradise Lost*, pp. 16, 18) there are indeed several from New Testament History. There is a somewhat detailed scheme of a drama, to be called *Baptistes*, on the subject of the death of John the Baptist at the hands of Herod. There are also seven notes of subjects from the Life of Christ,—the first entitled *Christus Patiens*, accompanied by a few words which show that, under that title, Milton had an idea of a drama on the scene of the Agony in the Garden; the others entered simply as follows: "*Christ Born*," "*Herod Massacring, or Rachel Weeping* (Matt. ii.)," "*Christ Bound*," "*Christ Crucified*," "*Christ Risen*," and "*Lazarus* (John xi.)" But not one of those eight subjects, thought of in Milton's early manhood, it will be seen, corresponds with the precise subject of *Paradise Regained*, executed when he was verging on sixty. The subject of that poem is expressly and exclusively the temptation of Christ by the Devil in the Wilderness, after his baptism by John, as related in Matt. iv. 1-11, Mark i. 12, 13, and Luke iv. 1-13. Commentators on the Poem, indeed, have remarked it as somewhat strange that Milton should have given so general a title as "Paradise Regained" to a poem representing only this particular passage of the Gospel History. For the subject of the Poem is thus announced in the opening lines:—

> "I, who erewhile the Happy Garden sung
> By one man's disobedience lost, now sing
> Recovered Paradise to all mankind,
> By one man's firm obedience fully tried
> Through all temptation, and the Tempter foiled
> In all his wiles, defeated and repulsed,
> And Eden raised in the waste Wilderness."

On this passage, and on the Poem generally, a commentator (Thyer), representing a general feeling, makes this remark: "It may seem a little odd that Milton should impute the recovery of Paradise to this short scene of our Saviour's

life upon earth, and not rather extend it to his Agony, Crucifixion, etc. But the reason, no doubt, was that Paradise *regained* by our Saviour's resisting the temptations of Satan might be a better contrast to Paradise *lost* by our first parents too easily yielding to the same seducing Spirit." This remark is perfectly just; but it receives elucidation and point from Ellwood's story of the way in which the poem came into existence.

The young Quaker's observation, "Thou hast said much here of *Paradise Lost;* but what hast thou to say of *Paradise Found?*" had stirred something in Milton's mind. He made no answer, but "sate some time in a muse," and then talked of something else. But an idea had flashed upon him,—the idea of a sequel to *Paradise Lost*, to be called *Paradise Regained.* Had he not, in *Paradise Lost* itself, assumed the possibility of such a sequel? Thus, even in the opening lines of the poem, defining its scope:—

> "Of Man's first disobedience, and the fruit
> Of that Forbidden Tree whose mortal taste
> Brought death into the world and all our woe,
> With loss of Eden, *till one greater Man*
> *Restore us and regain the blissful seat*,
> Sing, Heavenly Muse."

Here he had actually limited beforehand the horizon of the poem on which he was engaged. He had limited it by the perception of a new event in the distance, retrieving the catastrophe he was about to sing.[1] Might not that new event also be made the theme of a poem?—This idea once in Milton's mind, there is no difficulty in seeing how the story of *Paradise Regained*, as conceived by him, should have concentrated itself in the single passage of the Gospel History known as the Temptation of Christ in the Wilderness, rather than diffused itself through the entire range of Christ's ministry and passion. The second poem must correspond with the first,—must presuppose it, and be the artistic antithesis to it. Now, what had been the theme of the first poem? The temptation of the first of

[1] It occurs to me as not impossible that Milton, having finished *Paradise Regained* in manuscript before *Paradise Lost* was printed, may have touched into the text of *Paradise Lost* here and there such occult pre-advertisements of its successor as that in the opening lines.

men, and its results. Seeking for the most exact antithesis to this in the life of the "one greater Man" by whom these results were to be retrieved, of what would the poet so readily think as of the Temptation to which *He* was subjected with an issue so different? Why not concentrate, poetically or representatively, the whole of Christ's achievement, in undoing the effects of the Fall and restoring Paradise, on the issue of that second Temptation which stood out in such contrast with the first? If a single portion of Christ's history were to be taken, it must necessarily be this portion, where, more directly than in any other, Christ is brought into contact with the Evil One who had figured as the hero of the first poem, and had there borne away the victory. That same Satan, the story of whose fortunes, from his rebellion in Heaven on to his temptation of Adam and conquest thereby of Earth and the Universe of Man, forms the true thread of events in the first poem, here reappears in changed guise, after some thousands of years of his diabolic life amid those mundane elements the possession of which he had won for himself and his crew. He reappears; and, remembering all that we had read of him before, we are called upon to behold him once again in action. We are to behold him meeting Jesus, or the Second Adam, in a deliberate encounter more protracted than that with the first, and feeling himself foiled, and knowing in consequence that the prophesied era of the world's redemption has arrived, and the cessation of his own rule before a stronger force. In order that Satan, who had figured so largely in the first poem, might have his due place in the second, it was almost necessary to select the Temptation of Christ in the Wilderness as the incident to be developed in the second. Any theological objection that there might be to the seeming imputation thereby of the recovery of Paradise to one short scene in Christ's life, and that but preliminary to his main recorded ministry, might be obviated by representing the scene so that it should be typical of the ministry as a whole. It might be impressed on readers that here, at the very beginning of Christ's ministry, Satan, encountering Him, knew that he had met his match, and that all that followed in the whole ministry, to its close, was virtually certain from the date of this initial act of superiority over Satan.

Only by firmly remembering that it was as a sequel to *Paradise Lost* that *Paradise Regained* thus grew into shape in Milton's mind will the second poem be rightly understood. The commentators, indeed, as they have sought the "origin of Paradise Lost," or hints for its origin, in all sorts of previous poems, Italian, Latin, and Dutch, on the same subject (see Introduction to the Poem), have, though less laboriously, searched for previous poems from which Milton may have taken hints for his *Paradise Regained*. Todd, in his preliminary observations entitled "Origin of Paradise Regained," refers to the following pieces as possibly in Milton's recollection while he was writing the Poem,—Bale's *Brefe Comedy or Enterlude concernynge the Temptacyon of our Lorde and Saver Jesus Christ by Sathan in the Desart* (1538); Giles Fletcher's *Christ's Victorie and Triumph* (1611), a poem in four parts, the second of which, entitled "Christ's Triumph on Earth," describes the Temptation; also *La Humanità del Figlivolo di Dio*, a poem in ten books, by Theofilo Folengo of Mantua (1533), *La Vita et Passione di Christo*, a poem by Antonio Cornozano (1518), and one or two other Italian poems, cited at random for their titles and not from knowledge. The only one of these references worth much is that to Giles Fletcher's religious poem. Giles Fletcher, who died 1623, and his brother Phineas Fletcher, who outlived him more than twenty-five years, were among the truest poets in the interval between Spenser and Milton, and the highest in that ideal or Spenserian faculty which Milton admired. He must have known the works of both brothers well, and not least the really fine poem of Giles Fletcher to which Todd refers. But recollection of it can have had no effect on the *scheme* of his own *Paradise Regained*. That was determined simply by the poet's own meditations on those passages of the Evangelists which narrate the Temptation in the Wilderness,—especially the eleven verses in Matt. iv. and the thirteen in Luke iv.,—with a view to construct therefrom an imagination of the whole scene, which, while it should be true to the scriptural text, should fit as a sequel to *Paradise Lost*. The result was the poem as we now have it,—a poem in which the brief Scriptural narrative of the Temptation is expanded into four books, and yet the additions and filling-in are consistent with the texts which have suggested them.

So distinctly is *Paradise Regained* a sequel to *Paradise Lost* that acquaintance with *Paradise Lost* is all but presupposed in the reader ere he begins the shorter poem. Such acquaintance, indeed, is not absolutely necessary; but it conduces to a more exact understanding of the total meaning of the poem, and of not a few individual passages in it. Indeed, even that diagram of Universal Space or Physical Infinitude which was before the poet's mind, as we have seen, throughout *Paradise Lost* (see the Introduction to that poem), is still present to his mind, though more dimly, in *Paradise Regained*.

The result of Satan's triumph in *Paradise Lost*, it is to be remembered, was that he and his crew of Fallen Angels had succeeded in adding the "orbicular World" of Man, *i.e.* the whole Starry Universe or Cosmos with the Earth at its centre, to that infernal Empire of Hell to which they had been driven down on their expulsion from Heaven or the Empyrean. At the close of the real action of the great epic this is what we find Satan and Sin congratulating themselves upon (Book X. 350—409),—that Man's World has now been wrested from the Empire of Heaven above, and annexed to that of Hell beneath. An inter-communication has been established between Hell and Man's World, and it is hinted that thenceforward the Fallen Angels will not dwell so much in their main dark dominion of Hell as in the more lightsome World overhead, to which access is now easy. Distributing themselves through this World, they will rule its spheres and its elements; but more especially will they congregate in the Air round the central Earth, so as to intermingle with human affairs continually, and exercise their diabolic functions on the successive generations of men. Originally Angels in the Empyreal Heaven, then doomed spirits in Hell, they will now be the "Powers of the Air," round about the Earth, and the Gods of Man's World. So they anticipate; and, over and over again throughout the poem, we are reminded that their anticipation has been fulfilled. What is the theory throughout *Paradise Lost* but that the gods of all the heathen mythologies, worshipped by all the nations, are the Fallen Angels, who, in their new condition as Demons of Man's World and Powers of the Air, have so blinded and drugged the perceptions and imaginations of men as to be accepted as divinities?

In *Paradise Regained* all this is assumed. It is assumed that for some thousands of years these "Powers of the Air," *alias* Devils, *alias* Gods of the Polytheistic Mythologies, have been in possession of Man's World, distributed through it, some here, some there, according to their characters and faculties of mischief, but occasionally meeting in council somewhere in the element of Air or Mist. Satan is still their chief,—the greatest in power and in ability, the leader in their councils, their governor, and the director of their common enterprises. He is no longer the same sublime spirit as in the *Paradise Lost*, in whom were to be discerned the majestic lineaments of the Archangel just ruined. The thousands of years he has spent since then in his self-selected function as the Devil of our Earth, —no longer flying from star to star and through the grander regions of Universal Space, but winging about constantly close to our Earth, and meddling incessantly with all that is worst in merely terrestrial affairs,—have told upon his nature, and even upon his mien and bearing. He is a meaner, shrewder spirit, both morally and physically less impressive. But he has not yet degenerated into the mere scoffing Mephistopheles of Goethe's great poem. He retains something of his former magnanimity, or at least of his power of understanding and appealing to the higher motives of thought and action. Whatever of really great invention or wisdom remains among the diabolic host in their diffusion through Man's World and its elements is still chiefly lodged in *him*. He it is, accordingly, who, in his vigilance over the course of affairs on Earth, is the first to become aware of the advent of one that may possibly be that prophesied "greater Man" who is to retrieve the consequences of Adam's fall, end the diabolic influence in Man's World, and reconnect that World with Heaven. He it is who, as soon as he has made this discovery, summons the diabolic crew to consultation; and it is on him also that the farther trial of Christ's virtue is devolved.

The greater portion of the first book of the Poem is preliminary to the real action. It describes the baptism of Christ, when about thirty years of age, and as yet obscure and unknown, by John at Bethabara on the Jordan, the recognition of him by John, the proclamation from Heaven of his Messiahship, the presence of Satan among those who

hear this proclamation, and his alarm thereupon. A few days are then supposed to elapse, during which Christ remains in his lodging in Bethabara, the object now of much public regard, and with his first disciples gathering round him; after which he is led by the Spirit into the Wilderness, there to revolve his past life, and meditate on the ministry he is about to begin. It is after he has been already forty days in the Desert, and has begun to feel hunger, that the special action of the Poem opens (I. 303). It extends over three days. On the first day (the fortieth, it is to be supposed, of Christ's stay in the Wilderness), we have Satan's presentation of himself to Christ in the guise of an old peasant, their first discourse, and the commencement of the Temptation in the manner in which it is related both in Matthew and in Luke,—to wit, by the suggestion to Christ that he should prove his divinity by turning the stones around him into bread. This part of the relation occupies the remainder of Book I., which ends with a description of the coming on of night in the Desert. In Book II. the relation is resumed. About half the Book is occupied with an episodic account of the perplexity of Mary and the disciples by reason of Christ's mysterious absence, and an account also of a second council of the Evil Spirits to advise with Satan on his farther proceedings; but the remainder of the Book brings us back to the Desert, where Satan, early in the second day, renews the temptation. This second day's temptation is the most protracted and laborious, and the account of it extends from Book II. through the whole of Book III. and over two-thirds of Book IV. It is here that Milton has allowed his imagination the largest liberty in expanding the brief hints of the scriptural texts. Both in Matthew and in Luke the acts of the Temptation are represented as three. There is the Temptation of the Bread, or the appeal to Christ's hunger, which is put first by both Evangelists; there is the Temptation of the Vision of the Kingdoms of the Earth from a mountain-top, or the appeal to Christ's ambition,—which Luke puts second in order, but Matthew last; and there is the Temptation on the Pinnacle of the Temple, or, as it may be called, the appeal to vanity,—which Matthew puts second, but Luke last. Milton, assigning a separate day to each act of the Temptation, follows Luke's order rather than Matthew's in the last

two acts, and devotes the second day to the appeal to Christ's ambition. But he adds a variety of circumstances. He begins the day, for example, with a repetition of the hunger-temptation of the previous day, and then passes on to subtle appeals to the higher appetites of wealth and power, so as to prepare the way for the vision of the Kingdoms of the Earth. Milton's management of this vision (which begins at line 251 of Book III. and extends to line 393 of Book IV.) calls for our highest admiration. He contrives to make it not only a splendid, but also a most accurate, general view of the political condition of the earth at the time referred to, when the Parthians in the East and the Romans in the West were the great rival powers that had swamped all others; and, by thus supposing Satan to have based his temptation on the actual state of the world, and a calculation of what might be done by the genius of a bold adventurer, striking in, at that particular juncture, between the Romans and the Parthians, he imparts to it a character of deep Machiavellian ability. But the Temptation passes into still a new vein at the close; where, the direct appeal to political ambition having failed, Satan, with Athens in view, instead of Rome, tries to work on the passion for purely intellectual distinction. This too failing, the second day's temptation is at an end, and there is the return from the mountain-top to the Wilderness, where Christ is left alone during a night of storm and ghastliness. There remains then only the final act of the Temptation, reserved for the third day,—the temptation on the Pinnacle of the Temple. Although Milton has also put his own interpretation on this portion of the Temptation, working up to the actual transportation of Christ to the pinnacle, and the challenge of his power there, by previous questionings of Satan whether, after all, he is the "Son of God" in any very extraordinary sense, yet a comparatively brief space suffices both for the discourse leading up to the incident and for the incident itself. The third day's temptation, indeed, encroaching only a little on that day, and not protracted over the whole of it, occupies only about the last third of Book IV. One sees, at the close of the poem, why Milton preferred Luke's arrangement of the three acts of the Temptation to Matthew's. The reservation of the incident on the pinnacle of the Temple to the last enables the poet to close with that fine visual effect of Christ standing alone on

the pinnacle, after Satan's inglorious fall, till the fiery globe of ministering Angels surround him, and bear him in safety to earth on their wings as on a floating couch. Down they bear him to a flowery valley, and to the celestial food spread out for him there; he refreshes himself therewith, while the Angels above sing a hymn of his victory and its consequences; then, rising, he finds his way unobserved to his mother's house.

Speaking of *Paradise Regained*, Milton's nephew, Phillips, says (Life of Milton, 1694): "It is generally censured to be much inferior to the other (*i.e.* to *Paradise Lost*), though he (Milton) could not hear with patience any such thing when related to him." Tradition, as usual, has exaggerated this statement, until now the current assertion is that Milton preferred *Paradise Regained* to *Paradise Lost*. We may safely say that he knew better. But, probably, in that "general censure" of the inferiority of the smaller poem, which had begun, according to Phillips, even during the three years that were spared Milton to note its reception, he discovered critical misconceptions which have transmitted themselves to our time.—"Is *Paradise Regained* complete or not?" is a question on which a good deal has been written by Peck, Warburton, Newton, and others. The sole reason for thinking that it is incomplete, and that possibly the four books of the Poem as it now stands were originally intended only as part of a much larger poem, is founded on the smallness of that portion of Christ's life which is embraced in the poem, and on the stopping short of that consummation which would have completed the antithesis to *Paradise Lost*,—*i.e.* the expulsion of Satan and his crew out of the human World altogether back to Hell. This objection has already been discussed, and found invalid. By no protraction of the poem over the rest of Christ's life, we may also remark, could Milton have brought the story to the consummation thought desirable. The *virtual* deliverance of the World from the power of Satan and his crew may be represented as achieved in Christ's life on earth, and Milton represents it as achieved in Christ's first encounter with Satan at the outset of his ministry; but the *actual* or *physical* expulsion of the Evil Spirits out of their usurped world into their own nether realm was left a matter of prophecy or promise, and was certainly not regarded by Milton as having been accomplished

even at the time when he himself lived and wrote. Completion of the poem by working it on to this actual and historical consummation was, therefore, simply impossible. But, in short, by publishing the poem as it stands, Milton certified its completeness according to his own idea of the theme and its capabilities.——"Well, then," some of the critics continue, raising a second question, "can the poem properly be called an epic?" They have in view the Iliad, the Odyssey, and the Æneid, as the types of epics; and, allowing that *Paradise Lost* may rank as also an epic, they think *Paradise Regained* too short and too simple for such a name. But Milton had anticipated the objection as early as 1641, when, in his *Reason of Church-Government*, speaking of his literary schemes, he had distinguished two kinds of epics, of either of which he might have the option if he should ultimately determine on the epic form of composition as the best for his genius. "That epick form," he had said, "whereof the two poems of Homer, and those other two of Virgil and Tasso, are a *diffuse*, and the Book of Job a *brief*, model." May we not say that, as in *Paradise Lost* he had adopted the larger or more diffuse of the two models of epic here described, so in *Paradise Regained* he had in view rather the smaller or briefer model? This would put the matter on its right basis. *Paradise Regained* is a different poem from *Paradise Lost*,—not so great, because not admitting of being so great; but it is as good in its different kind, artistically perfect in its pictorial clearness and coherence, and altogether one of the most *edifying* and *full-bodied* poems in any literature. The difference of kinds between the two epics is signalised in certain differences in the language and versification. *Paradise Regained* seems written more rapidly than *Paradise Lost*, and, though with passages of superlative beauty, yet with less avoidance of plain historical phrases, and less study of the effect of sustained song.

PARADISE REGAINED:

A POEM IN FOUR BOOKS.

THE AUTHOR

JOHN MILTON.

PARADISE REGAINED.

THE FIRST BOOK.

I, WHO erewhile the Happy Garden sung
By one man's disobedience lost, now sing
Recovered Paradise to all mankind,
By one man's firm obedience fully tried
Through all temptation, and the Tempter foiled
In all his wiles, defeated and repulsed,
And Eden raised in the waste Wilderness.
  Thou Spirit, who led'st this glorious Eremite
Into the desert, his victorious field
Against the spiritual foe, and brought'st him thence
By proof the undoubted Son of God, inspire,
As thou art wont, my prompted song, else mute,
And bear through highth or depth of Nature's bounds,
With prosperous wing full summed, to tell of deeds
Above heroic, though in secret done,
And unrecorded left through many an age:
Worthy to have not remained so long unsung.
  Now had the great Proclaimer, with a voice
More awful than the sound of trumpet, cried
Repentance, and Heaven's kingdom nigh at hand
To all baptized. To his great baptism flocked
With awe the regions round, and with them came
From Nazareth the son of Joseph deemed
To the flood Jordan—came as then obscure,
Unmarked, unknown. But him the Baptist soon
Descried, divinely warned, and witness bore
As to his worthier, and would have resigned

To him his heavenly office. Nor was long
His witness unconfirmed: on him baptized
Heaven opened, and in likeness of a dove
The Spirit descended, while the Father's voice
From Heaven pronounced him his beloved Son.
That heard the Adversary, who, roving still
About the world, at that assembly famed
Would not be last, and, with the voice divine
Nigh thunder-struck, the exalted man to whom
Such high attest was given a while surveyed
With wonder; then, with envy fraught and rage,
Flies to his place, nor rests, but in mid air
To council summons all his mighty peers,
Within thick clouds and dark tenfold involved,
A gloomy consistory; and then amidst,
With looks aghast and sad, he thus bespake:—
"O ancient Powers of Air and this wide World
(For much more willingly I mention Air,
This our old conquest, than remember Hell,
Our hated habitation), well ye know
How many ages, as the years of men,
This Universe we have possessed, and ruled
In manner at our will the affairs of Earth,
Since Adam and his facile consort Eve
Lost Paradise, deceived by me, though since
With dread attending when that fatal wound
Shall be inflicted by the seed of Eve
Upon my head. Long the decrees of Heaven
Delay, for longest time to Him is short;
And now, too soon for us, the circling hours
This dreaded time have compassed, wherein we
Must bide the stroke of that long-threatened wound
(At least, if so we can, and by the head
Broken be not intended all our power
To be infringed, our freedom and our being
In this fair empire won of Earth and Air)—

For this ill news I bring: The Woman's Seed,
Destined to this, is late of woman born.
His birth to our just fear gave no small cause;
But his growth now to youth's full flower, displaying
All virtue, grace and wisdom to achieve
Things highest, greatest, multiplies my fear.
Before him a great Prophet, to proclaim
His coming, is sent harbinger, who all
Invites, and in the consecrated stream
Pretends to wash off sin, and fit them so
Purified to receive him pure, or rather
To do him honour as their King. All come,
And he himself among them was baptized—
Not thence to be more pure, but to receive
The testimony of Heaven, that who he is
Thenceforth the nations may not doubt. I saw
The Prophet do him reverence; on him, rising
Out of the water, Heaven above the clouds
Unfold her crystal doors; thence on his head
A perfect dove descend (whate'er it meant);
And out of Heaven the sovran voice I heard,
"This is my Son beloved,—in him am pleased."
His mother, then, is mortal, but his Sire
He who obtains the monarchy of Heaven;
And what will He not do to advance his Son?
His first-begot we know, and sore have felt,
When his fierce thunder drove us to the Deep;
Who this is we must learn, for Man he seems
In all his lineaments, though in his face
The glimpses of his Father's glory shine.
Ye see our danger on the utmost edge
Of hazard, which admits no long debate,
But must with something sudden be opposed
(Not force, but well-couched fraud, well-woven snares),
Ere in the head of nations he appear,
Their king, their leader, and supreme on Earth.

I, when no other durst, sole undertook
The dismal expedition to find out
And ruin Adam, and the exploit performed
Successfully: a calmer voyage now
Will waft me; and the way found prosperous once
Induces best to hope of like success."
He ended, and his words impression left
Of much amazement to the infernal crew,
Distracted and surprised with deep dismay
At these sad tidings. But no time was then
For long indulgence to their fears or grief:
Unanimous they all commit the care
And management of this main enterprise
To him, their great Dictator, whose attempt
At first against mankind so well had thrived
In Adam's overthrow, and led their march
From Hell's deep-vaulted den to dwell in light,
Regents, and potentates, and kings, yea gods,
Of many a pleasant realm and province wide.
So to the coast of Jordan he directs
His easy steps, girded with snaky wiles,
Where he might likeliest find this new-declared,
This man of men, attested Son of God,
Temptation and all guile on him to try,
So to subvert whom he suspected raised
To end his reign on Earth so long enjoyed:
But, contrary, unweeting he fulfilled
The purposed counsel, pre-ordained and fixed,
Of the Most High, who, in full frequence bright
Of Angels, thus to Gabriel smiling spake:—
"Gabriel, this day, by proof, thou shalt behold,
Thou and all Angels conversant on Earth
With Man or men's affairs, how I begin
To verify that solemn message late,
On which I sent thee to the Virgin pure
In Galilee, that she should bear a son,

Great in renown, and called the Son of God.
Then told'st her, doubting how these things could be
To her a virgin, that on her should come
The Holy Ghost, and the power of the Highest
O'ershadow her. This Man, born and now upgrown,
To show him worthy of his birth divine
And high prediction, henceforth I expose
To Satan; let him tempt, and now assay
His utmost subtlety, because he boasts
And vaunts of his great cunning to the throng
Of his apostasy. He might have learnt
Less overweening, since he failed in Job,
Whose constant perseverance overcame
Whate'er his cruel malice could invent.
He now shall know I can produce a man,
Of female seed, far abler to resist
All his solicitations, and at length
All his vast force, and drive him back to Hell—
Winning by conquest what the first man lost
By fallacy surprised. But first I mean
To exercise him in the Wilderness;
There he shall first lay down the rudiments
Of his great warfare, ere I send him forth
To conquer Sin and Death, the two grand foes.
By humiliation and strong sufferance
His weakness shall o'ercome Satanic strength,
And all the world, and mass of sinful flesh;
That all the Angels and ethereal Powers—
They now, and men hereafter—may discern
From what consummate virtue I have chose
This perfect man, by merit called my Son,
To earn salvation for the sons of men."

So spake the Eternal Father, and all Heaven
Admiring stood a space; then into hymns
Burst forth, and in celestial measures moved,
Circling the throne and singing, while the hand

Sung with the voice, and this the argument:—
"Victory and triumph to the Son of God,
Now entering his great duel, not of arms,
But to vanquish by wisdom hellish wiles!
The Father knows the Son; therefore secure
Ventures his filial virtue, though untried,
Against whate'er may tempt, whate'er seduce,
Allure, or terrify, or undermine.
Be frustrate, all ye stratagems of Hell,
And, devilish machinations, come to nought!"
So they in Heaven their odes and vigils tuned.
Meanwhile the Son of God, who yet some days
Lodged in Bethabara, where John baptized,
Musing and much revolving in his breast
How best the mighty work he might begin
Of Saviour to mankind, and which way first
Publish his godlike office now mature,
One day forth walked alone, the Spirit leading
And his deep thoughts, the better to converse
With solitude, till, far from track of men,
Thought following thought, and step by step led on,
He entered now the bordering Desert wild,
And, with dark shades and rocks environed round,
His holy meditations thus pursued:—
"O what a multitude of thoughts at once
Awakened in me swarm, while I consider
What from within I feel myself, and hear
What from without comes often to my ears,
Ill sorting with my present state compared!
When I was yet a child, no childish play
To me was pleasing; all my mind was set
Serious to learn and know, and thence to do,
What might be public good; myself I thought
Born to that end, born to promote all truth,
All righteous things. Therefore, above my years,
The Law of God I read, and found it sweet;

Made it my whole delight, and in it grew
To such perfection that, ere yet my age
Had measured twice six years, at our great Feast
I went into the Temple, there to hear
The teachers of our Law, and to propose
What might improve my knowledge or their own,
And was admired by all. Yet this not all
To which my spirit aspired. Victorious deeds
Flamed in my heart, heroic acts—one while
To rescue Israel from the Roman yoke;
Then to subdue and quell, o'er all the earth,
Brute violence and proud tyrannic power,
Till truth were freed, and equity restored:
Yet held it more humane, more heavenly, first
By winning words to conquer willing hearts,
And make persuasion do the work of fear;
At least to try, and teach the erring soul,
Not wilfully misdoing, but unware
Misled; the stubborn only to subdue.
These growing thoughts my mother soon perceiving,
By words at times cast forth, inly rejoiced,
And said to me apart, 'High are thy thoughts,
O Son! but nourish them, and let them soar
To what highth sacred virtue and true worth
Can raise them, though above example high;
By matchless deeds express thy matchless Sire.
For know, thou art no son of mortal man;
Though men esteem thee low of parentage,
Thy Father is the Eternal King who rules
All Heaven and Earth, Angels and sons of men.
A messenger from God foretold thy birth
Conceived in me a virgin; he foretold
Thou shouldst be great, and sit on David's throne,
And of thy kingdom there should be no end.
At thy nativity a glorious quire
Of Angels, in the fields of Bethlehem, sung

To shepherds, watching at their folds by night,
And told them the Messiah now was born,
Where they might see him ; and to thee they came,
Directed to the manger where thou lay'st ;
For in the inn was left no better room.
A star, not seen before, in heaven appearing,
Guided the wise men thither from the East,
To honour thee with incense, myrrh, and gold ;
By whose bright course led on they found the place,
Affirming it thy star, new-graven in heaven,
By which they knew thee King of Israel born.
Just Simeon and prophetic Anna, warned
By vision, found thee in the Temple, and spake,
Before the altar and the vested priest,
Like things of thee to all that present stood.'
This having heard, straight I again revolved
The Law and Prophets, searching what was writ
Concerning the Messiah, to our scribes
Known partly, and soon found of whom they spake
I am—this chiefly, that my way must lie
Through many a hard assay, even to the death,
Ere I the promised kingdom can attain,
Or work redemption for mankind, whose sins'
Full weight must be transferred upon my head.
Yet, neither thus disheartened or dismayed,
The time prefixed I waited ; when behold
The Baptist (of whose birth I oft had heard,
Not knew by sight) now come, who was to come
Before Messiah, and his way prepare !
I, as all others, to his baptism came,
Which I believed was from above ; but he
Straight knew me, and with loudest voice proclaimed
Me him (for it was shown him so from Heaven)—
Me him whose harbinger he was ; and first
Refused on me his baptism to confer,
As much his greater, and was hardly won.

But, as I rose out of the laving stream,
Heaven opened her eternal doors, from whence
The Spirit descended on me like a dove;
And last, the sum of all, my Father's voice,
Audibly heard from Heaven, pronounced me his,
Me his beloved Son, in whom alone
He was well pleased: by which I knew the time
Now full, that I no more should live obscure,
But openly begin, as best becomes
The authority which I derived from Heaven.
And now by some strong motion I am led
Into this wilderness; to what intent
I learn not yet. Perhaps I need not know;
For what concerns my knowledge God reveals."

So spake our Morning Star, then in his rise,
And, looking round, on every side beheld
A pathless desert, dusk with horrid shades.
The way he came, not having marked return,
Was difficult, by human steps untrod;
And he still on was led, but with such thoughts
Accompanied of things past and to come
Lodged in his breast as well might recommend
Such solitude before choicest society.

Full forty days he passed—whether on hill
Sometimes, anon in shady vale, each night
Under the covert of some ancient oak
Or cedar to defend him from the dew,
Or harboured in one cave, is not revealed;
Nor tasted human food, nor hunger felt,
Till those days ended; hungered then at last
Among wild beasts. They at his sight grew mild,
Nor sleeping him nor waking harmed; his walk
The fiery serpent fled and noxious worm;
The lion and fierce tiger glared aloof.
But now an aged man in rural weeds,
Following, as seemed, the quest of some stray ewe,

Or withered sticks to gather, which might serve
Against a winter's day, when winds blow keen,
To warm him wet returned from field at eve,
He saw approach; who first with curious eye
Perused him, then with words thus uttered spake:—
"Sir, what ill chance hath brought thee to this place,
So far from path or road of men, who pass
In troop or caravan? for single none
Durst ever, who returned, and dropt not here
His carcass, pined with hunger and with drouth.
I ask the rather, and the more admire,
For that to me thou seem'st the man whom late
Our new baptizing Prophet at the ford
Of Jordan honoured so, and called thee Son
Of God. I saw and heard, for we sometimes
Who dwell this wild, constrained by want, come forth
To town or village nigh (nighest is far),
Where aught we hear, and curious are to hear,
What happens new; fame also finds us out."
To whom the Son of God:—"Who brought me hither
Will bring me hence; no other guide I seek."
"By miracle he may," replied the swain;
"What other way I see not; for we here
Live on tough roots and stubs, to thirst inured
More than the camel, and to drink go far—
Men to much misery and hardship born.
But, if thou be the Son of God, command
That out of these hard stones be made thee bread;
So shalt thou save thyself, and us relieve
With food, whereof we wretched seldom taste."
He ended, and the Son of God replied:—
"Think'st thou such force in bread? Is it not written
(For I discern thee other than thou seem'st),
Man lives not by bread only, but each word
Proceeding from the mouth of God, who fed
Our fathers here with manna? In the Mount

Moses was forty days, nor eat nor drank;
And forty days Eliah without food
Wandered this barren waste; the same I now.
Why dost thou, then, suggest to me distrust,
Knowing who I am, as I know who *thou* art?"
Whom thus answered the Arch-Fiend, now undisguised:—
"'Tis true, I am that Spirit unfortunate
Who, leagued with millions more in rash revolt,
Kept not my happy station, but was driven
With them from bliss to the bottomless Deep—
Yet to that hideous place not so confined
By rigour unconniving but that oft,
Leaving my dolorous prison, I enjoy
Large liberty to round this globe of Earth,
Or range in the Air; nor from the Heaven of Heavens
Hath he excluded my resort sometimes.
I came, among the Sons of God, when he
Gave up into my hands Uzzean Job,
To prove him, and illustrate his high worth;
And, when to all his Angels he proposed
To draw the proud king Ahab into fraud,
That he might fall in Ramoth, they demurring,
I undertook that office, and the tongues
Of all his flattering prophets glibbed with lies
To his destruction, as I had in charge:
For what he bids I do. Though I have lost
Much lustre of my native brightness, lost
To be beloved of God, I have not lost
To love, at least contemplate and admire,
What I see excellent in good, or fair,
Or virtuous; I should so have lost all sense.
What can be then less in me than desire
To see thee and approach thee, whom I know
Declared the Son of God, to hear attent
Thy wisdom, and behold thy godlike deeds?

Men generally think me much a foe
To all mankind. Why should I? they to me
Never did wrong or violence. By them
I lost not what I lost; rather by them
I gained what I have gained, and with them dwell
Copartner in these regions of the World,
If not disposer—lend them oft my aid,
Oft my advice by presages and signs,
And answers, oracles, portents, and dreams,
Whereby they may direct their future life.
Envy, they say, excites me, thus to gain
Companions of my misery and woe!
At first it may be; but, long since with woe
Nearer acquainted, now I feel by proof
That fellowship in pain divides not smart,
Nor lightens aught each man's peculiar load;
Small consolation, then, were Man adjoined.
This wounds me most (what can it less?) that Man,
Man fallen, shall be restored, I never more."
  To whom our Saviour sternly thus replied:—
"Deservedly thou griev'st, composed of lies
From the beginning, and in lies wilt end,
Who boast'st release from Hell, and leave to come
Into the Heaven of Heavens. Thou com'st, indeed,
As a poor miserable captive thrall
Comes to the place where he before had sat
Among the prime in splendour, now deposed,
Ejected, emptied, gazed, unpitied, shunned,
A spectacle of ruin, or of scorn,
To all the host of Heaven. The happy place
Imparts to thee no happiness, no joy—
Rather inflames thy torment, representing
Lost bliss, to thee no more communicable;
So never more in Hell than when in Heaven.
But thou art serviceable to Heaven's King!
Wilt thou impute to obedience what thy fear

Extorts, or pleasure to do ill excites?
What but thy malice moved thee to misdeem
Of righteous Job, then cruelly to afflict him
With all inflictions? but his patience won.
The other service was thy chosen task,
To be a liar in four hundred mouths;
For lying is thy sustenance, thy food.
Yet thou pretend'st to truth! all oracles
By thee are given, and what confessed more true
Among the nations? That hath been thy craft,
By mixing somewhat true to vent more lies.
But what have been thy answers? what but dark,
Ambiguous, and with double sense deluding,
Which they who asked have seldom understood,
And, not well understood, as good not known?
Who ever, by consulting at thy shrine,
Returned the wiser, or the more instruct
To fly or follow what concerned him most,
And run not sooner to his fatal snare?
For God hath justly given the nations up
To thy delusions; justly, since they fell
Idolatrous. But, when his purpose is
Among them to declare his providence,
To thee not known, whence hast thou then thy truth,
But from him, or his Angels president
In every province, who, themselves disdaining
To approach thy temples, give thee in command
What, to the smallest tittle, thou shalt say
To thy adorers? Thou, with trembling fear,
Or like a fawning parasite, obey'st;
Then to thyself ascrib'st the truth foretold.
But this thy glory shall be soon retrenched;
No more shalt thou by oracling abuse
The Gentiles; henceforth oracles are ceased,
And thou no more with pomp and sacrifice
Shalt be inquired at Delphos or elsewhere—

At least in vain, for they shall find thee mute.
God hath now sent his living Oracle
Into the world to teach his final will,
And sends his Spirit of Truth henceforth to dwell
In pious hearts, an inward oracle
To all truth requisite for men to know."
So spake our Saviour; but the subtle Fiend,
Though inly stung with anger and disdain,
Dissembled, and this answer smooth returned:—
"Sharply thou hast insisted on rebuke,
And urged me hard with doings which not will,
But misery, hath wrested from me. Where
Easily canst thou find one miserable,
And not enforced oft-times to part from truth,
If it may stand him more in stead to lie,
Say and unsay, feign, flatter, or abjure?
But thou art placed above me; thou art Lord;
From thee I can, and must, submiss, endure
Check or reproof, and glad to scape so quit.
Hard are the ways of truth, and rough to walk,
Smooth on the tongue discoursed, pleasing to the ear,
And tunable as sylvan pipe or song;
What wonder, then, if I delight to hear
Her dictates from thy mouth? most men admire
Virtue who follow not her lore. Permit me
To hear thee when I come (since no man comes),
And talk at least, though I despair to attain.
Thy Father, who is holy, wise, and pure,
Suffers the hypocrite or atheous priest
To tread his sacred courts, and minister
About his altar, handling holy things,
Praying or vowing, and vouchsafed his voice
To Balaam reprobate, a prophet yet
Inspired: disdain not such access to me."
To whom our Saviour, with unaltered brow:—
"Thy coming hither, though I know thy scope,

I bid not, or forbid. Do as thou find'st
Permission from above; thou canst not more."
He added not; and Satan, bowing low
His gray dissimulation, disappeared,
Into thin air diffused: for now began
Night with her sullen wing to double-shade
The desert; fowls in their clay nests were couched;
And now wild beasts came forth the woods to roam.

THE END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

PARADISE REGAINED.

THE SECOND BOOK.

MEANWHILE the new-baptized, who yet remained
At Jordan with the Baptist, and had seen
Him whom they heard so late expressly called
Jesus Messiah, Son of God, declared,
And on that high authority had believed,
And with him talked, and with him lodged—I mean
Andrew and Simon, famous after known,
With others, though in Holy Writ not named—
Now missing him, their joy so lately found,
So lately found and so abruptly gone,
Began to doubt, and doubted many days,
And, as the days increased, increased their doubt.
Sometimes they thought he might be only shown,
And for a time caught up to God, as once
Moses was in the Mount and missing long,
And the great Thisbite, who on fiery wheels
Rode up to Heaven, yet once again to come.
Therefore, as those young prophets then with care
Sought lost Eliah, so in each place these
Nigh to Bethabara—in Jericho
The city of palms, Ænon, and Salem old,
Machærus, and each town or city walled
On this side the broad lake Genezaret,
Or in Peræa—but returned in vain.
Then on the bank of Jordan, by a creek,
Where winds with reeds and osiers whispering play,
Plain fishermen (no greater men them call),

Close in a cottage low together got,
Their unexpected loss and plaints outbreathed:—
"Alas, from what high hope to what relapse
Unlooked for are we fallen! Our eyes beheld
Messiah certainly now come, so long
Expected of our fathers; we have heard
His words, his wisdom full of grace and truth.
'Now, now, for sure, deliverance is at hand;
The kingdom shall to Israel be restored:'
Thus we rejoiced, but soon our joy is turned
Into perplexity and new amaze.
For whither is he gone? what accident
Hath rapt him from us? will he now retire
After appearance, and again prolong
Our expectation? God of Israel,
Send thy Messiah forth; the time is come.
Behold the kings of the earth, how they oppress
Thy Chosen, to what highth their power unjust
They have exalted, and behind them cast
All fear of Thee; arise, and vindicate
Thy glory; free thy people from their yoke!
But let us wait; thus far He hath performed—
Sent his Anointed, and to us revealed him,
By his great Prophet pointed at and shown
In public, and with him we have conversed.
Let us be glad of this, and all our fears
Lay on his providence; He will not fail,
Nor will withdraw him now, nor will recall—
Mock us with his blest sight, then snatch him hence:
Soon we shall see our hope, our joy, return."
Thus they out of their plaints new hope resume
To find whom at the first they found unsought.
But to his mother Mary, when she saw
Others returned from baptism, not her Son,
Nor left at Jordan tidings of him none,
Within her breast though calm, her breast though pure,

Motherly cares and fears got head, and raised
Some troubled thoughts, which she in sighs thus clad:—
"Oh, what avails me now that honour high,
To have conceived of God, or that salute,
'Hail, highly favoured, among women blest!'
While I to sorrows am no less advanced,
And fears as eminent above the lot
Of other women, by the birth I bore:
In such a season born, when scarce a shed
Could be obtained to shelter him or me
From the bleak air? A stable was our warmth,
A manger his; yet soon enforced to fly
Thence into Egypt, till the murderous king
Were dead, who sought his life, and, missing, filled
With infant blood the streets of Bethlehem.
From Egypt home returned, in Nazareth
Hath been our dwelling many years; his life
Private, unactive, calm, contemplative,
Little suspicious to any king. But now,
Full grown to man, acknowledged, as I hear,
By John the Baptist, and in public shown,
Son owned from Heaven by his Father's voice,
I looked for some great change. To honour? no;
But trouble, as old Simeon plain foretold,
That to the fall and rising he should be
Of many in Israel, and to a sign
Spoken against—that through my very soul
A sword shall pierce. This is my favoured lot,
My exaltation to afflictions high!
Afflicted I may be, it seems, and blest!
I will not argue that, nor will repine.
But where delays he now? Some great intent
Conceals him. When twelve years he scarce had seen,
I lost him, but so found as well I saw
He could not lose himself, but went about
His Father's business. What he meant I mused—

Since understand; much more his absence now
Thus long to some great purpose he obscures.
But I to wait with patience am inured;
My heart hath been a storehouse long of things
And sayings laid up, portending strange events."
  Thus Mary, pondering oft, and oft to mind
Recalling what remarkably had passed
Since first her salutation heard, with thoughts
Meekly composed awaited the fulfilling:
The while her Son, tracing the desert wild,
Sole, but with holiest meditations fed,
Into himself descended, and at once
All his great work to come before him set—
How to begin, how to accomplish best
His end of being on Earth, and mission high.
For Satan, with sly preface to return,
Had left him vacant, and with speed was gone
Up to the middle region of thick air,
Where all his Potentates in council sat.
There, without sign of boast, or sign of joy,
Solicitous and blank, he thus began:—
  "Princes, Heaven's ancient Sons, Ethereal Thrones—
Demonian Spirits now, from the element
Each of his reign allotted, rightlier called,
Powers of Fire, Air, Water, and Earth beneath
(So may we hold our place and these mild seats
Without new trouble!)—such an enemy
Is risen to invade us, who no less
Threatens than our expulsion down to Hell.
I, as I undertook, and with the vote
Consenting in full frequence was empowered,
Have found him, viewed him, tasted him; but find
Far other labour to be undergone
Than when I dealt with Adam, first of men,
Though Adam by his wife's allurement fell,
However to this Man inferior far—

If he be Man by mother's side, at least
With more than human gifts from Heaven adorned,
Perfections absolute, graces divine,
And amplitude of mind to greatest deeds.
Therefore I am returned, lest confidence
Of my success with Eve in Paradise
Deceive ye to persuasion over-sure
Of like succeeding here. I summon all
Rather to be in readiness with hand
Or counsel to assist, lest I, who erst
Thought none my equal, now be overmatched."
So spake the old Serpent, doubting, and from all
With clamour was assured their utmost aid
At his command; when from amidst them rose
Belial, the dissolutest Spirit that fell,
The sensualest, and, after Asmodai,
The fleshliest Incubus, and thus advised:—
"Set women in his eye and in his walk,
Among daughters of men the fairest found.
Many are in each region passing fair
As the noon sky, more like to goddesses
Than mortal creatures, graceful and discreet,
Expert in amorous arts, enchanting tongues
Persuasive, virgin majesty with mild
And sweet allayed, yet terrible to approach,
Skilled to retire, and in retiring draw
Hearts after them tangled in amorous nets.
Such object hath the power to soften and tame
Severest temper, smooth the rugged'st brow,
Enerve, and with voluptuous hope dissolve,
Draw out with credulous desire, and lead
At will the manliest, resolutest breast,
As the magnetic hardest iron draws.
Women, when nothing else, beguiled the heart
Of wisest Solomon, and made him build,
And made him bow, to the gods of his wives."

To whom quick answer Satan thus returned:—
"Belial, in much uneven scale thou weigh'st
All others by thyself. Because of old
Thou thyself doat'st on womankind, admiring
Their shape, their colour, and attractive grace,
None are, thou think'st, but taken with such toys.
Before the Flood, thou, with thy lusty crew,
False titled Sons of God, roaming the Earth,
Cast wanton eyes on the daughters of men,
And coupled with them, and begot a race.
Have we not seen, or by relation heard,
In courts and regal chambers how thou lurk'st,
In wood or grove, by mossy fountain-side,
In valley or green meadow, to waylay
Some beauty rare, Calisto, Clymene,
Daphne, or Semele, Antiopa,
Or Amymone, Syrinx, many more
Too long—then lay'st thy scapes on names adored,
Apollo, Neptune, Jupiter, or Pan,
Satyr, or Faun, or Silvan? But these haunts
Delight not all. Among the sons of men
How many have with a smile made small account
Of beauty and her lures, easily scorned
All her assaults, on worthier things intent!
Remember that Pellean conqueror,
A youth, how all the beauties of the East
He slightly viewed, and slightly overpassed;
How he surnamed of Africa dismissed,
In his prime youth, the fair Iberian maid.
For Solomon, he lived at ease, and, full
Of honour, wealth, high fare, aimed not beyond
Higher design than to enjoy his state;
Thence to the bait of women lay exposed.
But he whom we attempt is wiser far
Than Solomon, of more exalted mind,
Made and set wholly on the accomplishment

Of greatest things. What woman will you find,
Though of this age the wonder and the fame,
On whom his leisure will vouchsafe an eye
Of fond desire? Or should she, confident,
As sitting queen adored on Beauty's throne,
Descend with all her winning charms begirt
To enamour, as the zone of Venus once
Wrought that effect on Jove (so fables tell),
How would one look from his majestic brow,
Seated as on the top of Virtue's hill,
Discountenance her despised, and put to rout
All her array, her female pride deject,
Or turn to reverent awe! For Beauty stands
In the admiration only of weak minds
Led captive; cease to admire, and all her plumes
Fall flat, and shrink into a trivial toy,
At every sudden slighting quite abashed.
Therefore with manlier objects we must try
His constancy—with such as have more show
Of worth, of honour, glory, and popular praise
(Rocks whereon greatest men have oftest wrecked);
Or that which only seems to satisfy
Lawful desires of nature, not beyond.
And now I know he hungers, where no food
Is to be found, in the wide Wilderness:
The rest commit to me; I shall let pass
No advantage, and his strength as oft assay."
He ceased, and heard their grant in loud acclaim;
Then forthwith to him takes a chosen band
Of Spirits likest to himself in guile,
To be at hand and at his beck appear,
If cause were to unfold some active scene
Of various persons, each to know his part;
Then to the desert takes with these his flight,
Where still, from shade to shade, the Son of God,
After forty days' fasting, had remained,

Now hungering first, and to himself thus said:—
"Where will this end? Four times ten days I have passed
Wandering this woody maze, and human food
Not tasted, nor had appetite. That fast
To virtue I impute not, or count part
Of what I suffer here. If nature need not,
Or God support nature without repast,
Though needing, what praise is it to endure?
But now I feel I hunger; which declares
Nature hath need of what she asks. Yet God
Can satisfy that need some other way,
Though hunger still remain. So it remain
Without this body's wasting, I content me,
And from the sting of famine fear no harm;
Nor mind it, fed with better thoughts, that feed
Me hungering more to do my Father's will."
It was the hour of night, when thus the Son
Communed in silent walk, then laid him down
Under the hospitable covert nigh
Of trees thick interwoven. There he slept,
And dreamed, as appetite is wont to dream,
Of meats and drinks, nature's refreshment sweet.
Him thought he by the brook of Cherith stood,
And saw the ravens with their horny beaks
Food to Elijah bringing even and morn—
Though ravenous, taught to abstain from what they brought;
He saw the Prophet also, how he fled
Into the desert, and how there he slept
Under a juniper—then how, awaked,
He found his supper on the coals prepared,
And by the Angel was bid rise and eat,
And eat the second time after repose,
The strength whereof sufficed him forty days:
Sometimes that with Elijah he partook,

Or as a guest with Daniel at his pulse.
Thus wore out night; and now the herald lark
Left his ground-nest, high towering to descry
The Morn's approach, and greet her with his song.
As lightly from his grassy couch up rose
Our Saviour, and found all was but a dream;
Fasting he went to sleep, and fasting waked.
Up to a hill anon his steps he reared,
From whose high top to ken the prospect round,
If cottage were in view, sheep-cote, or herd;
But cottage, herd, or sheep-cote, none he saw—
Only in a bottom saw a pleasant grove,
With chant of tuneful birds resounding loud.
Thither he bent his way, determined there
To rest at noon, and entered soon the shade
High-roofed, and walks beneath, and alleys brown,
That opened in the midst a woody scene;
Nature's own work it seemed (Nature taught Art),
And, to a superstitious eye, the haunt
Of wood-gods and wood-nymphs. He viewed it round;
When suddenly a man before him stood,
Not rustic as before, but seemlier clad,
As one in city or court or palace bred,
And with fair speech these words to him addressed:—
"With granted leave officious I return,
But much more wonder that the Son of God
In this wild solitude so long should bide,
Of all things destitute, and, well I know,
Not without hunger. Others of some note,
As story tells, have trod this wilderness:
The fugitive bond-woman, with her son,
Outcast Nebaioth, yet found here relief
By a providing Angel; all the race
Of Israel here had famished, had not God
Rained from heaven manna; and that Prophet bold,
Native of Thebez, wandering here, was fed

Twice by a voice inviting him to eat.
Of thee these forty days none hath regard,
Forty and more deserted here indeed."
To whom thus Jesus:—"What conclud'st thou hence?
They all had need; I, as thou seest, have none."
"How hast thou hunger then?" Satan replied.
"Tell me, if food were now before thee set,
Would'st thou not eat?" "Thereafter as I like
The giver," answered Jesus. "Why should that
Cause thy refusal?" said the subtle Fiend.
"Hast thou not right to all created things?
Owe not all creatures, by just right, to thee
Duty and service, nor to stay till bid,
But tender all their power? Nor mention I
Meats by the law unclean, or offered first
To idols—those young Daniel could refuse;
Nor proffered by an enemy—though who
Would scruple that, with want oppressed? Behold,
Nature, ashamed, or, better to express,
Troubled, that thou shouldst hunger, hath purveyed
From all the elements her choicest store,
To treat thee as beseems, and as her Lord
With honour. Only deign to sit and eat."
He spake no dream; for, as his words had end,
Our Saviour, lifting up his eyes, beheld,
In ample space under the broadest shade,
A table richly spread in regal mode,
With dishes piled and meats of noblest sort
And savour—beasts of chase, or fowl of game,
In pastry built, or from the spit, or boiled,
Grisamber-steamed; all fish, from sea or shore,
Freshet or purling brook, of shell or fin,
And exquisitest name, for which was drained
Pontus, and Lucrine bay, and Afric coast.
Alas! how simple, to these cates compared,
Was that crude apple that diverted Eve!

And at a stately sideboard, by the wine,
That fragrant smell diffused, in order stood
Tall stripling youths rich-clad, of fairer hue
Than Ganymed or Hylas; distant more,
Under the trees now tripped, now solemn stood,
Nymphs of Diana's train, and Naiades
With fruits and flowers from Amalthea's horn,
And ladies of the Hesperides, that seemed
Fairer than feigned of old, or fabled since
Of faery damsels met in forest wide
By knights of Logres, or of Lyones,
Lancelot, or Pelleas, or Pellenore.
And all the while harmonious airs were heard
Of chiming strings or charming pipes; and winds
Of gentlest gale Arabian odours fanned
From their soft wings, and Flora's earliest smells.
Such was the splendour; and the Tempter now
His invitation earnestly renewed:—
"What doubts the Son of God to sit and eat?
These are not fruits forbidden; no interdict
Defends the touching of these viands pure;
Their taste no knowledge works, at least of evil,
But life preserves, destroys life's enemy,
Hunger, with sweet restorative delight.
All these are Spirits of air, and woods, and springs,
Thy gentle ministers, who come to pay
Thee homage, and acknowledge thee their Lord.
What doubt'st thou, Son of God? Sit down and eat."
To whom thus Jesus temperately replied:—
"Said'st thou not that to all things I had right?
And who withholds my power that right to use?
Shall I receive by gift what of my own,
When and where likes me best, I can command?
I can at will, doubt not, as soon as thou,
Command a table in this wilderness,
And call swift flights of Angels ministrant,

Arrayed in glory, on my cup to attend:
Why shouldst thou, then, obtrude this diligence
In vain, where no acceptance it can find?
And with my hunger what hast thou to do?
Thy pompous delicacies I contemn,
And count thy specious gifts no gifts, but guiles."
  To whom thus answered Satan, malecontent:—
"That I have also power to give thou seest;
If of that power I bring thee voluntary
What I might have bestowed on whom I pleased,
And rather opportunely in this place
Chose to impart to thy apparent need,
Why shouldst thou not accept it? But I see
What I can do or offer is suspect.
Of these things others quickly will dispose,
Whose pains have earned the far-fet spoil." With that
Both table and provision vanished quite,
With sound of harpies' wings and talons heard;
Only the importune Tempter still remained,
And with these words his temptation pursued:—
  "By hunger, that each other creature tames,
Thou art not to be harmed, therefore not moved;
Thy temperance, invincible besides,
For no allurement yields to appetite;
And all thy heart is set on high designs,
High actions. But wherewith to be achieved?
Great acts require great means of enterprise;
Thou art unknown, unfriended, low of birth,
A carpenter thy father known, thyself
Bred up in poverty and straits at home,
Lost in a desert here and hunger-bit.
Which way, or from what hope, dost thou aspire
To greatness? whence authority deriv'st?
What followers, what retinue canst thou gain,
Or at thy heels the dizzy multitude,
Longer than thou canst feed them on thy cost?

Money brings honour, friends, conquest, and realms.
What raised Antipater the Edomite,
And his son Herod placed on Judah's throne,
Thy throne, but gold, that got him puissant friends?
Therefore, if at great things thou wouldst arrive,
Get riches first, get wealth, and treasure heap—
Not difficult, if thou hearken to me.
Riches are mine, fortune is in my hand;
They whom I favour thrive in wealth amain,
While virtue, valour, wisdom, sit in want."
To whom thus Jesus patiently replied:—
"Yet wealth without these three is impotent
To gain dominion, or to keep it gained—
Witness those ancient empires of the earth,
In highth of all their flowing wealth dissolved;
But men endued with these have oft attained,
In lowest poverty, to highest deeds—
Gideon, and Jephtha, and the shepherd lad
Whose offspring on the throne of Judah sat
So many ages, and shall yet regain
That seat, and reign in Israel without end.
Among the Heathen (for throughout the world
To me is not unknown what hath been done
Worthy of memorial) canst thou not remember
Quintius, Fabricius, Curius, Regulus?
For I esteem those names of men so poor,
Who could do mighty things, and could contemn
Riches, though offered from the hand of kings.
And what in me seems wanting but that I
May also in this poverty as soon
Accomplish what they did, perhaps and more?
Extol not riches, then, the toil of fools,
The wise man's cumbrance, if not snare; more apt
To slacken virtue and abate her edge
Than prompt her to do aught may merit praise.
What if with like aversion I reject

Riches and realms! Yet not for that a crown,
Golden in show, is but a wreath of thorns,
Brings dangers, troubles, cares, and sleepless nights,
To him who wears the regal diadem,
When on his shoulders each man's burden lies;
For therein stands the office of a king,
His honour, virtue, merit, and chief praise,
That for the public all this weight he bears.
Yet he who reigns within himself, and rules
Passions, desires, and fears, is more a king—
Which every wise and virtuous man attains;
And who attains not ill aspires to rule
Cities of men, or headstrong multitudes,
Subject himself to anarchy within,
Or lawless passions in him, which he serves.
But to guide nations in the way of truth
By saving doctrine, and from error lead
To know, and, knowing, worship God aright,
Is yet more kingly. This attracts the soul,
Governs the inner man, the nobler part;
That other o'er the body only reigns,
And oft by force—which to a generous mind
So reigning can be no sincere delight.
Besides, to give a kingdom hath been thought
Greater and nobler done, and to lay down
Far more magnanimous, than to assume.
Riches are needless, then, both for themselves,
And for thy reason why they should be sought—
To gain a sceptre, oftest better missed."

THE END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

PARADISE REGAINED.

THE THIRD BOOK.

SO spake the Son of God; and Satan stood
A while as mute, confounded what to say,
What to reply, confuted and convinced
Of his weak arguing and fallacious drift;
At length, collecting all his serpent wiles,
With soothing words renewed, him thus accosts:—
"I see thou know'st what is of use to know,
What best to say canst say, to do canst do;
Thy actions to thy words accord; thy words
To thy large heart give utterance due; thy heart
Contains of good, wise, just, the perfect shape.
Should kings and nations from thy mouth consult,
Thy counsel would be as the oracle
Urim and Thummim, those oraculous gems
On Aaron's breast, or tongue of Seers old
Infallible; or, wert thou sought to deeds
That might require the array of war, thy skill
Of conduct would be such that all the world
Could not sustain thy prowess, or subsist
In battle, though against thy few in arms.
These godlike virtues wherefore dost thou hide?
Affecting private life, or more obscure
In savage wilderness, wherefore deprive
All Earth her wonder at thy acts, thyself
The fame and glory—glory, the reward
That sole excites to high attempts the flame
Of most erected spirits, most tempered pure

Ethereal, who all pleasures else despise,
All treasures and all gain esteem as dross,
And dignities and powers, all but the highest?
Thy years are ripe, and over-ripe. The son
Of Macedonian Philip had ere these
Won Asia, and the throne of Cyrus held
At his dispose; young Scipio had brought down
The Carthaginian pride; young Pompey quelled
The Pontic king, and in triumph had rode.
Yet years, and to ripe years judgment mature,
Quench not the thirst of glory, but augment.
Great Julius, whom now all the world admires,
The more he grew in years, the more inflamed
With glory, wept that he had lived so long
Inglorious. But thou yet art not too late."
To whom our Saviour calmly thus replied:—
"Thou neither dost persuade me to seek wealth
For empire's sake, nor empire to affect
For glory's sake, by all thy argument.
For what is glory but the blaze of fame,
The people's praise, if always praise unmixed?
And what the people but a herd confused,
A miscellaneous rabble, who extol
Things vulgar, and, well weighed, scarce worth the praise?
They praise and they admire they know not what,
And know not whom, but as one leads the other;
And what delight to be by such extolled,
To live upon their tongues, and be their talk?
Of whom to be dispraised were no small praise—
His lot who dares be singularly good.
The intelligent among them and the wise
Are few, and glory scarce of few is raised.
This is true glory and renown—when God,
Looking on the Earth, with approbation marks
The just man, and divulges him through Heaven

To all his Angels, who with true applause
Recount his praises. Thus he did to Job,
When, to extend his fame through Heaven and Earth,
As thou to thy reproach may'st well remember,
He asked thee, 'Hast thou seen my servant Job?'
Famous he was in Heaven; on Earth less known,
Where glory is false glory, attributed
To things not glorious, men not worthy of fame.
They err who count it glorious to subdue
By conquest far and wide, to overrun
Large countries, and in field great battles win,
Great cities by assault. What do these worthies
But rob and spoil, burn, slaughter, and enslave
Peaceable nations, neighbouring or remote,
Made captive, yet deserving freedom more
Than those their conquerors, who leave behind
Nothing but ruin wheresoe'er they rove,
And all the flourishing works of peace destroy;
Then swell with pride, and must be titled Gods,
Great Benefactors of mankind, Deliverers,
Worshiped with temple, priest, and sacrifice?
One is the son of Jove, of Mars the other;
Till conqueror Death discover them scarce men,
Rolling in brutish vices, and deformed,
Violent or shameful death their due reward.
But, if there be in glory aught of good,
It may by means far different be attained,
Without ambition, war, or violence—
By deeds of peace, by wisdom eminent,
By patience, temperance. I mention still
Him whom thy wrongs, with saintly patience borne,
Made famous in a land and times obscure;
Who names not now with honour patient Job?
Poor Socrates, (who next more memorable?)
By what he taught and suffered for so doing,
For truth's sake suffering death unjust, lives now

Equal in fame to proudest conquerors.
Yet, if for fame and glory aught be done,
Aught suffered—if young African for fame
His wasted country freed from Punic rage—
The deed becomes unpraised, the man at least,
And loses, though but verbal, his reward.
Shall I seek glory, then, as vain men seek,
Oft not deserved? I seek not mine, but His
Who sent me, and thereby witness whence I am."
  To whom the Tempter, murmuring, thus replied:—
"Think not so slight of glory, therein least
Resembling thy great Father. He seeks glory,
And for his glory all things made, all things
Orders and governs; nor content in Heaven,
By all his Angels glorified, requires
Glory from men, from all men, good or bad,
Wise or unwise, no difference, no exemption.
Above all sacrifice, or hallowed gift,
Glory he requires, and glory he receives,
Promiscuous from all nations, Jew, or Greek,
Or Barbarous, nor exception hath declared;
From us, his foes pronounced, glory he exacts."
  To whom our Saviour fervently replied:—
"And reason; since his Word all things produced,
Though chiefly not for glory as prime end,
But to show forth his goodness, and impart
His good communicable to every soul
Freely; of whom what could he less expect
Than glory and benediction—that is, thanks—
The slightest, easiest, readiest recompense
From them who could return him nothing else,
And, not returning that, would likeliest render
Contempt instead, dishonour, obloquy?
Hard recompense, unsuitable return
For so much good, so much beneficence!
But why should man seek glory, who of his own

Hath nothing, and to whom nothing belongs
But condemnation, ignominy, and shame—
Who, for so many benefits received,
Turned recreant to God, ingrate and false,
And so of all true good himself despoiled;
Yet, sacrilegious, to himself would take
That which to God alone of right belongs?
Yet so much bounty is in God, such grace,
That who advance his glory, not their own,
Them he himself to glory will advance."
  So spake the Son of God; and here again
Satan had not to answer, but stood struck
With guilt of his own sin—for he himself,
Insatiable of glory, had lost all;
Yet of another plea bethought him soon:—
  "Of glory, as thou wilt," said he, "so deem;
Worth or not worth the seeking, let it pass.
But to a Kingdom thou art born—ordained
To sit upon thy father David's throne,
By mother's side thy father, though thy right
Be now in powerful hands, that will not part
Easily from possession won with arms.
Judæa now and all the Promised Land,
Reduced a province under Roman yoke,
Obeys Tiberius, nor is always ruled
With temperate sway: oft have they violated
The Temple, oft the Law, with foul affronts,
Abominations rather, as did once
Antiochus. And think'st thou to regain
Thy right in sitting still, or thus retiring?
So did not Machabeus. He indeed
Retired unto the Desert, but with arms;
And o'er a mighty king so oft prevailed
That by strong hand his family obtained,
Though priests, the crown, and David's throne usurped,

With Modin and her suburbs once content.
If kingdom move thee not, let move thee zeal
And duty—zeal and duty are not slow,
But on Occasion's forelock watchful wait:
They themselves rather are occasion best—
Zeal of thy Father's house, duty to free
Thy country from her heathen servitude.
So shalt thou best fulfil, best verify,
The Prophets old, who sung thy endless reign—
The happier reign the sooner it begins.
Reign then; what canst thou better do the while?"
  To whom our Saviour answer thus returned:—
"All things are best fulfilled in their due time;
And time there is for all things, Truth hath said.
If of my reign Prophetic Writ hath told
That it shall never end, so, when begin
The Father in his purpose hath decreed—
He in whose hand all times and seasons roll.
What if he hath decreed that I shall first
Be tried in humble state, and things adverse,
By tribulations, injuries, insults,
Contempts, and scorns, and snares, and violence,
Suffering, abstaining, quietly expecting
Without distrust or doubt, that He may know
What I can suffer, how obey? Who best
Can suffer best can do, best reign who first
Well hath obeyed—just trial ere I merit
My exaltation without change or end.
But what concerns it *thee* when I begin
My everlasting Kingdom? Why art *thou*
Solicitous? What moves *thy* inquisition?
Know'st thou not that my rising is thy fall,
And my promotion will be thy destruction?"
  To whom the Tempter, inly racked, replied:—
"Let that come when it comes. All hope is lost
Of my reception into grace; what worse?

For where no hope is left is left no fear.
If there be worse, the expectation more
Of worse torments me than the feeling can.
I would be at the worst; worst is my port,
My harbour, and my ultimate repose,
The end I would attain, my final good.
My error was my error, and my crime
My crime; whatever, for itself condemned,
And will alike be punished, whether thou
Reign or reign not—though to that gentle brow
Willingly I could fly, and hope thy reign,
From that placid aspect and meek regard,
Rather than aggravate my evil state,
Would stand between me and thy Father's ire
(Whose ire I dread more than the fire of Hell)
A shelter and a kind of shading cool
Interposition, as a summer's cloud.
If I, then, to the worst that can be haste,
Why move thy feet so slow to what is best?
Happiest, both to thyself and all the world,
That thou, who worthiest art, shouldst be their king!
Perhaps thou linger'st in deep thoughts detained
Of the enterprise so hazardous and high!
No wonder; for, though in thee be united
What of perfection can in Man be found,
Or human nature can receive, consider
Thy life hath yet been private, most part spent
At home, scarce viewed the Galilean towns,
And once a year Jerusalem few days'
Short sojourn; and what thence couldst thou observe?
The world thou hast not seen, much less her glory,
Empires, and monarchs, and their radiant courts—
Best school of best experience, quickest in sight
In all things that to greatest actions lead.
The wisest, unexperienced, will be ever
Timorous and loth, with novice modesty

(As he who, seeking asses, found a kingdom)
Irresolute, unhardy, unadventurous.
But I will bring thee where thou soon shalt quit
Those rudiments, and see before thine eyes
The monarchies of the Earth, their pomp and state—
Sufficient introduction to inform
Thee, of thyself so apt, in regal arts,
And regal mysteries; that thou may'st know
How best their opposition to withstand."
  With that (such power was given him then), he took
The Son of God up to a mountain high.
It was a mountain at whose verdant feet
A spacious plain outstretched in circuit wide
Lay pleasant; from his side two rivers flowed,
The one winding, the other straight, and left between
Fair champaign, with less rivers interveined,
Then meeting joined their tribute to the sea.
Fertile of corn the glebe, of oil, and wine;
With herds the pasture thronged, with flocks the hills;
Huge cities and high-towered, that well might seem
The seats of mightiest monarchs; and so large
The prospect was that here and there was room
For barren desert, fountainless and dry.
To this high mountain-top the Tempter brought
Our Saviour, and new train of words began:—
  "Well have we speeded, and o'er hill and dale,
Forest, and field, and flood, temples and towers,
Cut shorter many a league. Here thou behold'st
Assyria, and her empire's ancient bounds,
Araxes and the Caspian lake; thence on
As far as Indus east, Euphrates west,
And oft beyond; to south the Persian bay,
And, inaccessible, the Arabian drouth:
Here, Nineveh, of length within her wall
Several days' journey, built by Ninus old,
Of that first golden monarchy the seat,

And seat of Salmanassar, whose success
Israel in long captivity still mourns;
There Babylon, the wonder of all tongues,
As ancient, but rebuilt by him who twice
Judah and all thy father David's house
Led captive, and Jerusalem laid waste,
Till Cyrus set them free; Persepolis,
His city, there thou seest, and Bactra there;
Ecbatana her structure vast there shows,
And Hecatompylos her hundred gates;
There Susa by Choaspes, amber stream,
The drink of none but kings; of later fame,
Built by Emathian or by Parthian hands,
The great Seleucia, Nisibis, and there
Artaxata, Teredon, Ctesiphon,
Turning with easy eye, thou may'st behold.
All these the Parthian (now some ages past
By great Arsaces led, who founded first
That empire) under his dominion holds,
From the luxurious kings of Antioch won.
And just in time thou com'st to have a view
Of his great power; for now the Parthian king
In Ctesiphon hath gathered all his host
Against the Scythian, whose incursions wild
Have wasted Sogdiana; to her aid
He marches now in haste. See, though from far,
His thousands, in what martial equipage
They issue forth, steel bows and shafts their arms,
Of equal dread in flight or in pursuit—
All horsemen, in which fight they most excel;
See how in warlike muster they appear,
In rhombs, and wedges, and half-moons, and wings."
He looked, and saw what numbers numberless
The city gates outpoured, light-armed troops
In coats of mail and military pride.
In mail their horses clad, yet fleet and strong,

Prancing their riders bore, the flower and choice
Of many provinces from bound to bound—
From Arachosia, from Candaor east,
And Margiana, to the Hyrcanian cliffs
Of Caucasus, and dark Iberian dales;
From Atropatia, and the neighbouring plains
Of Adiabene, Media, and the south
Of Susiana, to Balsara's haven.
He saw them in their forms of battle ranged,
How quick they wheeled, and flying behind them shot
Sharp sleet of arrowy showers against the face
Of their pursuers, and overcame by flight;
The field all iron cast a gleaming brown.
Nor wanted clouds of foot, nor, on each horn,
Cuirassiers all in steel for standing fight,
Chariots, or elephants indorsed with towers
Of archers; nor of labouring pioneers
A multitude, with spades and axes armed,
To lay hills plain, fell woods, or valleys fill,
Or where plain was raise hill, or overlay
With bridges rivers proud, as with a yoke:
Mules after these, camels and dromedaries,
And waggons fraught with utensils of war.
Such forces met not, nor so wide a camp,
When Agrican, with all his northern powers,
Besieged Albracca, as romances tell,
The city of Gallaphrone, from thence to win
The fairest of her sex, Angelica,
His daughter, sought by many prowest knights,
Both Paynim and the peers of Charlemain.
Such and so numerous was their chivalry;
At sight whereof the Fiend yet more presumed,
And to our Saviour thus his words renewed:—
"That thou may'st know I seek not to engage
Thy virtue, and not every way secure
On no slight grounds thy safety, hear and mark

To what end I have brought thee hither, and show
All this fair sight. Thy kingdom, though foretold
By Prophet or by Angel, unless thou
Endeavour, as thy father David did,
Thou never shalt obtain: prediction still
In all things, and all men, supposes means;
Without means used, what it predicts revokes.
But say thou wert possessed of David's throne
By free consent of all, none opposite,
Samaritan or Jew; how couldst thou hope
Long to enjoy it quiet and secure
Between two such enclosing enemies,
Roman and Parthian? Therefore one of these
Thou must make sure thy own: the Parthian first,
By my advice, as nearer, and of late
Found able by invasion to annoy
Thy country, and captive lead away her kings,
Antigonus and old Hyrcanus, bound,
Maugre the Roman. It shall be my task
To render thee the Parthian at dispose,
Choose which thou wilt, by conquest or by league.
By him thou shalt regain, without him not,
That which alone can truly reinstall thee
In David's royal seat, his true successor—
Deliverance of thy brethren, those Ten Tribes
Whose offspring in his territory yet serve
In Habor, and among the Medes dispersed:
Ten sons of Jacob, two of Joseph, lost
Thus long from Israel, serving, as of old
Their fathers in the land of Egypt served,
This offer sets before thee to deliver.
These if from servitude thou shalt restore
To their inheritance, then, nor till then,
Thou on the throne of David in full glory,
From Egypt to Euphrates and beyond,
Shalt reign, and Rome or Cæsar not need fear."

To whom our Saviour answered thus, unmoved:—
"Much ostentation vain of fleshly arm
And fragile arms, much instrument of war,
Long in preparing, soon to nothing brought,
Before mine eyes thou hast set, and in my ear
Vented much policy, and projects deep
Of enemies, of aids, battles, and leagues,
Plausible to the world, to me worth naught.
Means I must use, thou say'st; prediction else
Will unpredict, and fail me of the throne!
My time, I told thee (and that time for thee
Were better farthest off), is not yet come.
When that comes, think not thou to find me slack
On my part aught endeavouring, or to need
Thy politic maxims, or that cumbersome
Luggage of war there shown me—argument
Of human weakness rather than of strength.
My brethren, as thou call'st them, those Ten Tribes,
I must deliver, if I mean to reign
David's true heir, and his full sceptre sway
To just extent over all Israel's sons!
But whence to *thee* this zeal? Where was it then
For Israel, or for David, or his throne,
When thou stood'st up his tempter to the pride
Of numbering Israel—which cost the lives
Of threescore and ten thousand Israelites
By three days' pestilence? Such was thy zeal
To Israel then, the same that now to me.
As for those captive tribes, themselves were they
Who wrought their own captivity, fell off
From God to worship calves, the deities
Of Egypt, Baal next and Ashtaroth,
And all the idolatries of heathen round,
Besides their other worse than heathenish crimes;
Nor in the land of their captivity
Humbled themselves, or penitent besought

The God of their forefathers, but so died
Impenitent, and left a race behind
Like to themselves, distinguishable scarce
From Gentiles, but by circumcision vain,
And God with idols in their worship joined.
Should I of these the liberty regard,
Who, freed, as to their ancient patrimony,
Unhumbled, unrepentant, unreformed,
Headlong would follow, and to their gods perhaps
Of Bethel and of Dan? No; let them serve
Their enemies who serve idols with God.
Yet He at length, time to himself best known,
Remembering Abraham, by some wondrous call
May bring them back, repentant and sincere,
And at their passing cleave the Assyrian flood,
While to their native land with joy they haste,
As the Red Sea and Jordan once he cleft,
When to the Promised Land their fathers passed.
To his due time and providence I leave them."
So spake Israel's true King, and to the Fiend
Made answer meet, that made void all his wiles.
So fares it when with truth falsehood contends.

THE END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

PARADISE REGAINED.

THE FOURTH BOOK.

PERPLEXED and troubled at his bad success
The Tempter stood, nor had what to reply,
Discovered in his fraud, thrown from his hope
So oft, and the persuasive rhetoric
That sleeked his tongue, and won so much on Eve,
So little here, nay lost. But Eve was Eve;
This far his over-match, who, self-deceived
And rash, beforehand had no better weighed
The strength he was to cope with, or his own.
But—as a man who had been matchless held
In cunning, over-reached where least he thought,
To salve his credit, and for very spite,
Still will be tempting him who foils him still,
And never cease, though to his shame the more;
Or as a swarm of flies in vintage-time,
About the wine-press where sweet must is poured,
Beat off, returns as oft with humming sound;
Or surging waves against a solid rock,
Though all to shivers dashed, the assault renew,
(Vain battery!) and in froth or bubbles end—
So Satan, whom repulse upon repulse
Met ever, and to shameful silence brought,
Yet gives not o'er, though desperate of success,
And his vain importunity pursues.
He brought our Saviour to the western side
Of that high mountain, whence he might behold
Another plain, long, but in breadth not wide,

Washed by the southern sea, and on the north
To equal length backed with a ridge of hills
That screened the fruits of the earth and seats of men
From cold Septentrion blasts; thence in the midst
Divided by a river, off whose banks
On each side an imperial city stood,
With towers and temples proudly elevate
On seven small hills, with palaces adorned,
Porches and theatres, baths, aqueducts,
Statues and trophies, and triumphal arcs,
Gardens and groves, presented to his eyes
Above the highth of mountains interposed—
By what strange parallax, or optic skill
Of vision, multiplied through air, or glass
Of telescope, were curious to inquire.
And now the Tempter thus his silence broke:—
"The city which thou seest no other deem
Than great and glorious Rome, Queen of the Earth
So far renowned, and with the spoils enriched
Of nations. There the Capitol thou seest,
Above the rest lifting his stately head
On the Tarpeian rock, her citadel
Impregnable; and there Mount Palatine,
The imperial palace, compass huge, and high
The structure, skill of noblest architects,
With gilded battlements, conspicuous far,
Turrets, and terraces, and glittering spires.
Many a fair edifice besides, more like
Houses of gods—so well I have disposed
My aery microscope—thou may'st behold,
Outside and inside both, pillars and roofs
Carved work, the hand of famed artificers
In cedar, marble, ivory, or gold.
Thence to the gates cast round thine eye, and see
What conflux issuing forth, or entering in:
Prætors, proconsuls to their provinces

Hasting, or on return, in robes of state;
Lictors and rods, the ensigns of their power;
Legions and cohorts, turms of horse and wings;
Or embassies from regions far remote,
In various habits, on the Appian road,
Or on the Æmilian—some from farthest south,
Syene, and where the shadow both way falls,
Meròë, Nilotic isle, and, more to west,
The realm of Bocchus to the Blackmoor sea;
From the Asian kings (and Parthian among these),
From India and the Golden Chersoness,
And utmost Indian isle Taprobane,
Dusk faces with white silken turbants wreathed;
From Gallia, Gades, and the British west;
Germans, and Scythians, and Sarmatians north
Beyond Danubius to the Tauric pool.
All nations now to Rome obedience pay—
To Rome's great Emperor, whose wide domain,
In ample territory, wealth and power,
Civility of manners, arts and arms,
And long renown, thou justly may'st prefer
Before the Parthian. These two thrones except,
The rest are barbarous, and scarce worth the sight,
Shared among petty kings too far removed;
These having shown thee, I have shown thee all
The kingdoms of the world, and all their glory.
This Emperor hath no son, and now is old,
Old and lascivious, and from Rome retired
To Capreæ, an island small but strong
On the Campanian shore, with purpose there
His horrid lusts in private to enjoy;
Committing to a wicked favourite
All public cares, and yet of him suspicious;
Hated of all, and hating. With what ease,
Endued with regal virtues as thou art,
Appearing, and beginning noble deeds,

Might'st thou expel this monster from his throne,
Now made a sty, and, in his place ascending,
A victor-people free from servile yoke!
And with my help thou may'st; to me the power
Is given, and by that right I give it thee.
Aim, therefore, at no less than all the world;
Aim at the highest; without the highest attained,
Will be for thee no sitting, or not long,
On David's throne, be prophesied what will."
  To whom the Son of God, unmoved, replied:—
"Nor doth this grandeur and majestic show
Of luxury, though called magnificence,
More than of arms before, allure mine eye,
Much less my mind; though thou should'st add to tell
Their sumptuous gluttonies, and gorgeous feasts
On citron tables or Atlantic stone
(For I have also heard, perhaps have read),
Their wines of Setia, Cales, and Falerne,
Chios and Crete, and how they quaff in gold,
Crystal, and myrrhine cups, embossed with gems
And studs of pearl—to me should'st tell, who thirst
And hunger still. Then embassies thou show'st
From nations far and nigh! What honour that,
But tedious waste of time, to sit and hear
So many hollow compliments and lies,
Outlandish flatteries! Then proceed'st to talk
Of the Emperor, how easily subdued,
How gloriously. I shall, thou say'st, expel
A brutish monster: what if I withal
Expel a Devil who first made him such?
Let his tormentor, Conscience, find him out;
For him I was not sent, nor yet to free
That people, victor once, now vile and base,
Deservedly made vassal—who, once just,
Frugal, and mild, and temperate, conquered well,
But govern ill the nations under yoke,

Peeling their provinces, exhausted all
By lust and rapine; first ambitious grown
Of triumph, that insulting vanity;
Then cruel, by their sports to blood inured
Of fighting beasts, and men to beasts exposed;
Luxurious by their wealth, and greedier still,
And from the daily scene effeminate.
What wise and valiant man would seek to free
These, thus degenerate, by themselves enslaved,
Or could of inward slaves make outward free?
Know, therefore, when my season comes to sit
On David's throne, it shall be like a tree
Spreading and overshadowing all the earth,
Or as a stone that shall to pieces dash
All monarchies besides throughout the world;
And of my kingdom there shall be no end.
Means there shall be to this; but what the means
Is not for thee to know, nor me to tell."
  To whom the Tempter, impudent, replied:—
"I see all offers made by me how slight
Thou valuest, because offered, and reject'st.
Nothing will please the difficult and nice,
Or nothing more than still to contradict.
On the other side know also thou that I
On what I offer set as high esteem,
Nor what I part with mean to give for naught.
All these, which in a moment thou behold'st,
The kingdoms of the world, to thee I give
(For, given to me, I give to whom I please),
No trifle; yet with this reserve, not else—
On this condition, if thou wilt fall down,
And worship me as thy superior lord
(Easily done), and hold them all of me;
For what can less so great a gift deserve?"
  Whom thus our Saviour answered with disdain:—
"I never liked thy talk, thy offers less;

Now both abhor, since thou hast dared to utter
The abominable terms, impious condition.
But I endure the time, till which expired
Thou hast permission on me. It is written,
The first of all commandments, 'Thou shalt worship
The Lord thy God, and only Him shalt serve';
And dar'st thou to the Son of God propound
To worship thee, accursed? now more accursed
For this attempt, bolder than that on Eve,
And more blasphemous; which expect to rue.
The kingdoms of the world to thee were given!
Permitted rather, and by thee usurped;
Other donation none thou canst produce.
If given, by whom but by the King of kings,
God over all supreme? If given to thee,
By thee how fairly is the Giver now
Repaid! But gratitude in thee is lost
Long since. Wert thou so void of fear or shame
As offer them to me, the Son of God—
To me my own, on such abhorred pact,
That I fall down and worship thee as God?
Get thee behind me! Plain thou now appear'st
That Evil One, Satan for ever damned."
To whom the Fiend, with fear abashed, replied:—
"Be not so sore offended, Son of God—
Though Sons of God both Angels are and Men—
If I, to try whether in higher sort
Than these thou bear'st that title, have proposed
What both from Men and Angels I receive,
Tetrarchs of Fire, Air, Flood, and on the Earth,
Nations besides from all the quartered winds—
God of this World invoked, and World beneath.
Who then thou art, whose coming is foretold
To me most fatal, me it most concerns.
The trial hath indamaged thee no way,
Rather more honour left and more esteem;

Me naught advantaged, missing what I aimed.
Therefore let pass, as they are transitory,
The kingdoms of this world; I shall no more
Advise thee; gain them as thou canst, or not.
And thou thyself seem'st otherwise inclined
Than to a worldly crown, addicted more
To contemplation and profound dispute;
As by that early action may be judged,
When, slipping from thy mother's eye, thou went'st
Alone into the Temple, there wast found
Among the gravest Rabbies, disputant
On points and questions fitting Moses' chair,
Teaching, not taught. The childhood shows the man,
As morning shows the day. Be famous, then,
By wisdom; as thy empire must extend,
So let extend thy mind o'er all the world
In knowledge; all things in it comprehend.
All knowledge is not couched in Moses' law,
The Pentateuch, or what the Prophets wrote;
The Gentiles also know, and write, and teach
To admiration, led by Nature's light;
And with the Gentiles much thou must converse,
Ruling them by persuasion, as thou mean'st.
Without their learning, how wilt thou with them,
Or they with thee, hold conversation meet?
How wilt thou reason with them, how refute
Their idolisms, traditions, paradoxes?
Error by his own arms is best evinced.
Look once more, ere we leave this specular mount,
Westward, much nearer by south-west; behold
Where on the Ægean shore a city stands,
Built nobly, pure the air and light the soil—
Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts
And eloquence, native to famous wits
Or hospitable, in her sweet recess,

City or suburban, studious walks and shades.
See there the olive-grove of Academe,
Plato's retirement, where the Attic bird
Trills her thick-warbled notes the summer long;
There, flowery hill, Hymettus, with the sound
Of bees' industrious murmur, oft invites
To studious musing; there Ilissus rolls
His whispering stream. Within the walls then view
The schools of ancient sages—his who bred
Great Alexander to subdue the world,
Lyceum there; and painted Stoa next.
There thou shalt hear and learn the secret power
Of harmony, in tones and numbers hit
By voice or hand, and various-measured verse,
Æolian charms and Dorian lyric odes,
And his who gave them breath, but higher sung,
Blind Melesigenes, thence Homer called,
Whose poem Phœbus challenged for his own.
Thence what the lofty grave Tragedians taught
In chorus or iambic, teachers best
Of moral prudence, with delight received
In brief sententious precepts, while they treat
Of fate, and chance, and change in human life,
High actions and high passions best describing.
Thence to the famous Orators repair,
Those ancient whose resistless eloquence
Wielded at will that fierce democraty,
Shook the Arsenal, and fulmined over Greece
To Macedon and Artaxerxes' throne.
To sage Philosophy next lend thine ear,
From heaven descended to the low-roofed house
Of Socrates—see there his tenement—
Whom, well inspired, the oracle pronounced
Wisest of men; from whose mouth issued forth
Mellifluous streams, that watered all the schools
Of Academics old and new, with those

Surnamed Peripatetics, and the sect
Epicurean, and the Stoic severe.
These here revolve, or, as thou likest, at home,
Till time mature thee to a kingdom's weight;
These rules will render thee a king complete
Within thyself, much more with empire joined."
  To whom our Saviour sagely thus replied:—
"Think not but that I know these things; or, think
I know them not, not therefore am I short
Of knowing what I ought. He who receives
Light from above, from the Fountain of Light,
No other doctrine needs, though granted true;
But these are false, or little else but dreams,
Conjectures, fancies, built on nothing firm.
The first and wisest of them all professed
To know this only, that he nothing knew;
The next to fabling fell and smooth conceits;
A third sort doubted all things, though plain sense;
Others in virtue placed felicity,
But virtue joined with riches and long life;
In corporal pleasure he, and careless ease;
The Stoic last in philosophic pride,
By him called virtue, and his virtuous man,
Wise, perfect in himself, and all possessing,
Equal to God, oft shames not to prefer,
As fearing God nor man, contemning all
Wealth, pleasure, pain or torment, death and life—
Which, when he lists, he leaves, or boasts he can;
For all his tedious talk is but vain boast,
Or subtle shifts conviction to evade.
Alas! what can they teach, and not mislead,
Ignorant of themselves, of God much more,
And how the World began, and how Man fell,
Degraded by himself, on grace depending?
Much of the Soul they talk, but all awry;
And in themselves seek virtue; and to themselves

All glory arrogate, to God give none ;
Rather accuse him under usual names,
Fortune and Fate, as one regardless quite
Of mortal things. Who, therefore, seeks in these
True wisdom finds her not, or, by delusion
Far worse, her false resemblance only meets,
An empty cloud. However, many books,
Wise men have said, are wearisome ; who reads
Incessantly, and to his reading brings not
A spirit and judgment equal or superior,
(And what he brings what needs he elsewhere seek ?)
Uncertain and unsettled still remains,
Deep-versed in books and shallow in himself,
Crude or intoxicate, collecting toys
And trifles for choice matters, worth a sponge,
As children gathering pebbles on the shore.
Or, if I would delight my private hours
With music or with poem, where so soon
As in our native language can I find
That solace ? All our Law and Story strewed
With hymns, our Psalms with artful terms inscribed,
Our Hebrew songs and harps, in Babylon
That pleased so well our victor's ear, declare
That rather Greece from us these arts derived—
Ill imitated while they loudest sing
The vices of their deities, and their own,
In fable, hymn, or song, so personating
Their gods ridiculous, and themselves past shame.
Remove their swelling epithets, thick-laid
As varnish on a harlot's cheek, the rest,
Thin-sown with aught of profit or delight,
Will far be found unworthy to compare
With Sion's songs, to all true tastes excelling,
Where God is praised aright and godlike men,
The Holiest of Holies and his Saints
(Such are from God inspired, not such from thee) ;

Unless where moral virtue is expressed
By light of Nature, not in all quite lost.
Their Orators thou then extoll'st as those
The top of eloquence—statists indeed,
And lovers of their country, as may seem;
But herein to our Prophets far beneath,
As men divinely taught, and better teaching
The solid rules of civil government,
In their majestic, unaffected style,
Than all the oratory of Greece and Rome.
In them is plainest taught, and easiest learnt,
What makes a nation happy, and keeps it so,
What ruins kingdoms, and lays cities flat;
These only, with our Law, best form a king."
  So spake the Son of God; but Satan, now
Quite at a loss (for all his darts were spent),
Thus to our Saviour, with stern brow, replied:—
  "Since neither wealth nor honour, arms nor arts,
Kingdom nor empire, pleases thee, nor aught
By me proposed in life contemplative
Or active, tended on by glory or fame,
What dost thou in this world? The Wilderness
For thee is fittest place: I found thee there,
And thither will return thee. Yet remember
What I foretell thee; soon thou shalt have cause
To wish thou never hadst rejected, thus
Nicely or cautiously, my offered aid,
Which would have set thee in short time with ease
On David's throne, or throne of all the world,
Now at full age, fulness of time, thy season,
When prophecies of thee are best fulfilled.
Now, contrary—if I read aught in heaven,
Or heaven write aught of fate—by what the stars
Voluminous, or single characters
In their conjunction met, give me to spell,
Sorrows and labours, opposition, hate,

Attends thee ; scorns, reproaches, injuries,
Violence and stripes, and, lastly, cruel death.
A kingdom they portend thee, but what kingdom,
Real or allegoric, I discern not ;
Nor when : eternal sure—as without end,
Without beginning ; for no date prefixed
Directs me in the starry rubric set."
  So saying, he took (for still he knew his power
Not yet expired), and to the Wilderness
Brought back, the Son of God, and left him there,
Feigning to disappear. Darkness now rose,
As daylight sunk, and brought in louring Night,
Her shadowy offspring, unsubstantial both,
Privation mere of light and absent day.
Our Saviour, meek, and with untroubled mind
After his aery jaunt, though hurried sore,
Hungry and cold, betook him to his rest,
Wherever, under some concourse of shades,
Whose branching arms thick-intertwined might shield
From dews and damps of night his sheltered head ;
But, sheltered, slept in vain ; for at his head
The Tempter watched, and soon with ugly dreams
Disturbed his sleep. And either tropic now
Gan thunder, and both ends of heaven ; the clouds
From many a horrid rift abortive poured
Fierce rain with lightning mixed, water with fire
In ruin reconciled ; nor slept the winds
Within their stony caves, but rushed abroad
From the four hinges of the world, and fell
On the vexed wilderness, whose tallest pines,
Though rooted deep as high, and sturdiest oaks,
Bowed their stiff necks, loaden with stormy blasts,
Or torn up sheer. Ill wast thou shrouded then,
O patient Son of God, yet only stood'st
Unshaken ! Nor yet staid the terror there :
Infernal ghosts and hellish furies round

Environed thee; some howled, some yelled, some
shrieked,
Some bent at thee their fiery darts, while thou
Sat'st unappalled in calm and sinless peace.
Thus passed the night so foul, till Morning fair
Came forth with pilgrim steps, in amice gray,
Who with her radiant finger stilled the roar
Of thunder, chased the clouds, and laid the winds,
And grisly spectres, which the Fiend had raised
To tempt the Son of God with terrors dire.
And now the sun with more effectual beams
Had cheered the face of earth, and dried the wet
From drooping plant, or dropping tree; the birds,
Who all things now behold more fresh and green,
After a night of storm so ruinous,
Cleared up their choicest notes in bush and spray,
To gratulate the sweet return of morn.
Nor yet, amidst this joy and brightest morn,
Was absent, after all his mischief done,
The Prince of Darkness; glad would also seem
Of this fair change, and to our Saviour came;
Yet with no new device (they all were spent),
Rather by this his last affront resolved,
Desperate of better course, to vent his rage
And mad despite to be so oft repelled.
Him walking on a sunny hill he found,
Backed on the north and west by a thick wood;
Out of the wood he starts in wonted shape,
And in a careless mood thus to him said:—
"Fair morning yet betides thee, Son of God,
After a dismal night. I heard the wrack,
As earth and sky would mingle; but myself
Was distant; and these flaws, though mortals fear
them,
As dangerous to the pillared frame of Heaven,
Or to the Earth's dark basis underneath,

Are to the main as inconsiderable
And harmless, if not wholesome, as a sneeze
To man's less universe, and soon are gone.
Yet, as being ofttimes noxious where they light
On man, beast, plant, wasteful and turbulent,
Like turbulencies in the affairs of men,
Over whose heads they roar, and seem to point,
They oft fore-signify and threaten ill.
This tempest at this desert most was bent;
Of men at thee, for only thou here dwell'st.
Did I not tell thee, if thou didst reject
The perfect season offered with my aid
To win thy destined seat, but wilt prolong
All to the push of fate, pursue thy way
Of gaining David's throne no man knows when
(For both the when and how is nowhere told),
Thou shalt be what thou art ordained, no doubt;
For Angels have proclaimed it, but concealing
The time and means? Each act is rightliest done
Not when it must, but when it may be best.
If thou observe not this, be sure to find
What I foretold thee—many a hard assay
Of dangers, and adversities, and pains,
Ere thou of Israel's sceptre get fast hold;
Whereof this ominous night that closed thee round,
So many terrors, voices, prodigies,
May warn thee, as a sure foregoing sign."
 So talked he, while the Son of God went on,
And staid not, but in brief him answered thus:—
 "Me worse than wet thou find'st not; other harm
Those terrors which thou speak'st of did me none.
I never feared they could, though noising loud
And threatening nigh: what they can do as signs
Betokening or ill-boding I contemn
As false portents, not sent from God, but thee;
Who, knowing I shall reign past thy preventing,

Obtrud'st thy offered aid, that I, accepting,
At least might seem to hold all power of thee,
Ambitious Spirit! and would'st be thought my God;
And storm'st, refused, thinking to terrify
Me to thy will! Desist (thou art discerned,
And toil'st in vain), nor me in vain molest."

To whom the Fiend, now swoln with rage, replied:—
"Then hear, O Son of David, virgin-born!
For Son of God to me is yet in doubt.
Of the Messiah I have heard foretold
By all the Prophets; of thy birth, at length
Announced by Gabriel, with the first I knew,
And of the angelic song in Bethlehem field,
On thy birth-night, that sung thee Saviour born.
From that time seldom have I ceased to eye
Thy infancy, thy childhood, and thy youth,
Thy manhood last, though yet in private bred;
Till, at the ford of Jordan, whither all
Flocked to the Baptist, I among the rest
(Though not to be baptized), by voice from Heaven
Heard thee pronounced the Son of God beloved.
Thenceforth I thought thee worth my nearer view
And narrower scrutiny, that I might learn
In what degree or meaning thou art called
The Son of God, which bears no single sense.
The Son of God I also am, or was;
And, if I was, I am; relation stands:
All men are Sons of God; yet thee I thought
In some respect far higher so declared.
Therefore I watched thy footsteps from that hour,
And followed thee still on to this waste wild,
Where, by all best conjectures, I collect
Thou art to be my fatal enemy.
Good reason, then, if I beforehand seek
To understand my adversary, who
And what he is; his wisdom, power, intent;

By parle or composition, truce or league,
To win him, or win from him what I can.
And opportunity I here have had
To try thee, sift thee, and confess have found thee
Proof against all temptation, as a rock
Of adamant and as a centre, firm
To the utmost of mere man both wise and good,
Not more; for honours, riches, kingdoms, glory,
Have been before contemned, and may again.
Therefore, to know what more thou art than man,
Worth naming Son of God by voice from Heaven,
Another method I must now begin."
So saying, he caught him up, and, without wing
Of hippogrif, bore through the air sublime,
Over the wilderness and o'er the plain,
Till underneath them fair Jerusalem,
The Holy City, lifted high her towers,
And higher yet the glorious Temple reared
Her pile, far off appearing like a mount
Of alabaster, topt with golden spires:
There, on the highest pinnacle, he set
The Son of God, and added thus in scorn:—
"There stand, if thou wilt stand; to stand upright
Will ask thee skill. I to thy Father's house
Have brought thee, and highest placed: highest is best.
Now show thy progeny; if not to stand,
Cast thyself down. Safely, if Son of God;
For it is written, 'He will give command
Concerning thee to his Angels; in their hands
They shall uplift thee, lest at any time
Thou chance to dash thy foot against a stone.'"
To whom thus Jesus: "Also it is written,
'Tempt not the Lord thy God.'" He said, and stood;
But Satan, smitten with amazement, fell.
As when Earth's son, Antæus (to compare

Small things with greatest), in Irassa strove
With Jove's Alcides, and, oft foiled, still rose,
Receiving from his mother Earth new strength,
Fresh from his fall, and fiercer grapple joined,
Throttled at length in the air expired and fell,
So, after many a foil, the Tempter proud,
Renewing fresh assaults, amidst his pride
Fell whence he stood to see his victor fall;
And, as that Theban monster that proposed
Her riddle, and him who solved it not devoured,
That once found out and solved, for grief and spite
Cast herself headlong from the Ismenian steep,
So, strook with dread and anguish, fell the Fiend,
And to his crew, that sat consulting, brought
Joyless triumphals of his hoped success,
Ruin, and desperation, and dismay,
Who durst so proudly tempt the Son of God.
So Satan fell; and straight a fiery globe
Of Angels on full sail of wing flew nigh,
Who on their plumy vans received Him soft
From his uneasy station, and upbore,
As on a floating couch, through the blithe air;
Then, in a flowery valley, set him down
On a green bank, and set before him spread
A table of celestial food, divine
Ambrosial fruits fetched from the Tree of Life,
And from the Fount of Life ambrosial drink,
That soon refreshed him wearied, and repaired
What hunger, if aught hunger, had impaired,
Or thirst; and, as he fed, Angelic quires
Sung heavenly anthems of his victory
Over temptation and the Tempter proud:—
"True Image of the Father, whether throned
In the bosom of bliss, and light of light
Conceiving, or, remote from Heaven, enshrined
In fleshly tabernacle and human form,

Wandering the wilderness—whatever place,
Habit, or state, or motion, still expressing
The Son of God, with Godlike force endued
Against the attempter of thy Father's throne
And thief of Paradise! Him long of old
Thou didst debel, and down from Heaven cast
With all his army; now thou hast avenged
Supplanted Adam, and, by vanquishing
Temptation, hast regained lost Paradise,
And frustrated the conquest fraudulent.
He never more henceforth will dare set foot
In Paradise to tempt; his snares are broke.
For, though that seat of earthly bliss be failed,
A fairer Paradise is founded now
For Adam and his chosen sons, whom thou,
A Saviour, art come down to reinstall;
Where they shall dwell secure, when time shall be,
Of tempter and temptation without fear.
But thou, Infernal Serpent! shalt not long
Rule in the clouds. Like an autumnal star,
Or lightning, thou shalt fall from Heaven, trod down
Under his feet. For proof, ere this thou feel'st
Thy wound (yet not thy last and deadliest wound)
By this repulse received, and hold'st in Hell
No triumph; in all her gates Abaddon rues
Thy bold attempt. Hereafter learn with awe
To dread the Son of God. He, all unarmed,
Shall chase thee, with the terror of his voice,
From thy demoniac holds, possession foul—
Thee and thy legions; yelling they shall fly,
And beg to hide them in a herd of swine,
Lest he command them down into the Deep,
Bound, and to torment sent before their time.
Hail, Son of the Most High, heir of both Worlds,
Queller of Satan! On thy glorious work
Now enter, and begin to save Mankind."

Thus they the Son of God, our Saviour meek,
Sung victor, and, from heavenly feast refreshed,
Brought on his way with joy. He, unobserved,
Home to his mother's house private returned.

THE END.

SAMSON AGONISTES

INTRODUCTION

TO SAMSON AGONISTES.

MILTON is remembered mainly as an epic poet. But his final choice of the epic form for his greatest poem and its companion was the result of deliberation. Apparently it was even a departure from his original inclination, when in his early manhood he had debated with himself in what form of poetry his genius would have fullest scope. Two of his early English poems had not only been dramatic, but had actually been performed. The *Arcades* was "part of an entertainment presented to the Countess-Dowager of Derby at Harefield by some noble persons of her family," probably in the year 1633; and *Comus*, the finest and most extensive of all Milton's minor poems, was nothing else than an elaborate "masque," performed, in the following year, at Ludlow Castle, in Shropshire, before the Earl of Bridgewater, Lord President of Wales, by way of entertainment to the gentry of the neighbourhood. (See Introductions to these Poems.) Whether Milton was present at the performance of either the *Arcades* or the *Comus* is not known; but the fact of his writing two such dramatic pieces for actual performance by the members of a family with which he had relations of acquaintance shows that at that time,—*i.e.* when he was twenty-six years of age,—he had no objection to this kind of entertainment, then so fashionable at Court and among noble families of literary tastes. That he had seen masques performed—masques of Ben Jonson, Carew, or Shirley—may be taken for granted; and we have his own assurance that, when at Cambridge, he attended dramatic representations there, got up in the colleges, and that, when in London, during his vacations from Cambridge, he used to go to the theatres (*Eleg.* i. 29-46). To the same effect

we have his lines in *L'Allegro*, where he includes the theatre among the natural pleasures of the mind in its cheerful mood,—

> "Then to the well-trod stage anon,
> If Jonson's learned sock be on,
> Or sweetest Shakespeare, Fancy's child,
> Warble his native wood-notes wild."—

words which, so far as Milton's appreciation of Shakespeare is concerned, would seem poor, if we did not recollect the splendid lines which he had previously written (1630), and which were prefixed to the second folio edition of Shakespeare's plays in 1632,—

> "What needs my Shakespeare for his honoured bones
> The labour of an age in pilèd stones,
> Or that his hallowed reliques should be hid
> Under a star-ypointing pyramid?
> Dear Son of Memory, great heir of Fame,
> What need'st thou such weak witness," etc.

Still, the unlawfulness of dramatic entertainments had always been a tenet of those stricter English Puritans with whom Milton even then felt a political sympathy; and Prynne's famous *Histriomastix*, in which he denounced stage-plays and all connected with them through a thousand quarto pages (1632), had helped to confirm Puritanism in this tenet. As Prynne's treatise had been out more than a year before the *Arcades* and *Comus* were written, it is clear that he had not converted Milton to his opinion. While the more rigid and less educated of the Puritans undoubtedly went with Prynne in condemning the stage altogether, Milton, I should say, before the time of his journey to Italy (1638-39), was one of those who retained a pride in the drama as the form of literature in which, for two generations, English genius had been most productive. Lamenting, with others, the corrupt condition into which the national drama had fallen in baser hands, and the immoral accompaniments of the degraded stage, he had seen no reason to recant his enthusiastic tribute to the memory of Shakespeare, or to be ashamed of his own contribution to the dramatic literature of England in his two model masques.

Gradually, however, with Milton's growing seriousness amid the events and duties that awaited him after his return

from his Italian journey, and especially after the meeting of the Long Parliament (Nov. 3, 1640), there came a change in his notions of the drama. From this period there is evidence that his sympathy with the Prynne view of things, at least as far as regarded the English stage, was more considerable than it had been. While he regarded all literature as recently infected with baseness and corruption, and requiring to be taught again its true relation to the spiritual needs and uses of a great nation, he felt an especial dislike to the popular literature of stage-plays, as then written and acted. From this period, if I mistake not, he was practically against theatre-going, as unworthy of a serious man, considering the contrast between what was to be seen within the theatres and what was in course of transaction without them; nor, if his two masques and his eulogy on Shakespeare had remained to be written now, do I think he would have judged it opportune to write them. Certainly he would not now have written the masques for actual performance, public or private. And yet he had not abandoned his admiration of the drama as a form of literature. On the contrary, he was still convinced that no form of literature is nobler, more capable of conveying the highest and most salutary conceptions of the mind of a great poet. When, immediately after his return from Italy, he was preparing himself for that great English poem upon which he proposed to bestow his full strength, what do we find? We find him, for a while (*The Reason of Church Government*, Introd. to Book II.), balancing the claims of the epic, the drama, and the lyric, and concluding that in any one of these a great Christian poet might have congenial scope, and the benefit of grand precedents and models. He discusses the claims of the epic first, and thinks highly of them, but proceeds immediately to inquire "whether those dramatic constitutions in which Sophocles and Euripides reign shall be found more doctrinal and exemplary to a nation," adding, "The Scripture also affords us a divine pastoral drama in the Song of Solomon, consisting of two persons and a double chorus, as Origen rightly judges; and the Apocalypse of St. John is the majestic image of a high and stately Tragedy, shutting up and intermingling her solemn scenes and acts with a sevenfold chorus of hallelujahs and harping symphonies; and this my opinion the grave authority of Paræus,

commenting that book, is sufficient to confirm." Here we have certainly a proof that no amount of sympathy which Milton may have felt with the Puritan dislike of stage-plays had affected his admiration of the dramatic form of poesy as practised by the ancient Greek tragedians and others. Indeed, in the same pamphlet, he recognises "the managing of our public sports and festival pastimes" as one of the duties of the Government in every well-constituted commonwealth, and distinctly recommends it as proper for the civil magistrate, in the interests of education and morality, to provide "eloquent and graceful" appeals to the intellect and imagination of the people, not only from pulpits, but also in the form of "set and solemn paneguries in theatres." Accordingly, it was to the dramatic form, rather than to either the epic or the lyric, that Milton then inclined in his meditations of some great English poem to be written by himself. As we have already seen (Introduction to *Paradise Lost*, pp. 14-18), he threw aside his first notion of an epic on King Arthur, and began to collect possible subjects for dramas from Scriptural History, and from the early history of Britain. He collected and jotted down the titles of no fewer than sixty possible tragedies on subjects from the Old and New Testaments, and thirty-eight possible tragedies on subjects of English and Scottish History,—among which latter, curiously enough, was one on the subject of *Macbeth*. From this extraordinary collection of possible subjects *Paradise Lost* already stood out as that which most fascinated him; but even that subject was to be treated dramatically.

All this was before the year 1642. On the 2d of September in that year,—the King having a few days before raised his standard at Nottingham, and given the signal for the Civil War,—there was passed the famous ordinance of Parliament suppressing stage-plays "while the public troubles last," and shutting up the London theatres. From that date onwards to the Restoration, or for nearly eighteen years, the Drama, in the sense of the Acted Drama, was in abeyance in England. This fact may have co-operated with other reasons in determining Milton, when he did at length find leisure for returning to his scheme of a great English poem, to abandon the dramatic form he had formerly favoured. True, the mere discontinuance of stage-plays in England, as an amusement inconsistent with Puritan ideas, and intolerable

in the state of the times, cannot, even though Milton approved of such discontinuance (as he doubtless did), have altered his former convictions in favour of the dramatic form of poetry, according to its noblest ancient models,—especially as he could have had no thought, when meditating his Scriptural Tragedies, of adapting them for actual performance. Such a tragedy as *he* had meant to write would not have been the least in conflict with the real operative element in the contemporary Puritan antipathy to the Drama. Still the dramatic form itself had fallen into discredit; and there were weaker brethren with whom it would have been useless to reason on the distinction between the written Drama and the acted Drama, between the noblest tragedy on the ancient Greek model and the worst of those English stage-plays, of the reign of Charles, from which the nation had been compelled to desist. Milton does not seem to have been indifferent to this feeling. The tone of his reference to Shakespeare in his *Eikonoklastes*, published in 1649, suggests that, if he had not then really abated his allegiance to Shakespeare, he at least agreed so far with the ordinary Puritanism around him as not to think Shakespeare-worship the particular doctrine then required by the English mind.

For some such reason, among others, Milton, when he set himself at length, in 1658, to redeem his long-given pledge of a great English poem, and chose for his subject *Paradise Lost*, deliberately gave up his first intention of treating that subject in the dramatic form. When that poem was given to the world, in 1667, it was as an epic. Its companion, *Paradise Regained*, published in 1671, was also an epic.

But, though it was thus as an epic poet that Milton chose mainly and finally to appear before the world, he was so far faithful to his old affection for the Drama as to leave to the world one experiment of his mature art in that form. *Samson Agonistes* was an attestation that the poet who in his earlier years had written the beautiful pastoral drama of *Comus* had never ceased to like that form of poesy, but to the last believed it suitable, with modifications, for his severer and sterner purposes. At what time *Samson* was written is not definitely ascertained; but it was certainly after the Restoration, and probably after 1667. It was published in 1671, in the same volume with *Paradise Regained*

(see title of the volume, etc., in Introd. to *Paradise Regained*, p. 2). For a time the connexion thus established between *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* was kept up in subsequent editions; but since 1688 I know of no publication of these two poems together by themselves. There have been one or two editions of the *Samson* by itself; but it has generally appeared either in collective editions of all the poems, or in editions of the minor poems apart from *Paradise Lost*.

How came Milton to select such a subject as that of *Samson Agonistes* for one of his latest poems, if not the very latest?

To this question it is partly an answer to say that the exploits of the Hebrew Samson had long before struck him as capable of treatment in an English tragedy. Among his jottings, in 1640-41, of subjects for possible Scripture Tragedies, we find these two, occurring as the 19th and 20th in the total list:—"*Samson Pursophorus or Hybristes, or Samson Marrying, or Ramath-Lechi,*" Judges xv.; and "*Dagonalia,*" Judges xvi. That is to say, Milton, in 1640-41, thought there might be two sacred dramas founded on the accounts of Samson's life in the Book of Judges,—one on Samson's first marriage with a Philistian woman, and his feuds with the Philistines growing out of that incident, when he was *Pursophorus* (*i.e.* The Firebrand-bringer) or *Hybristes* (*i.e.* Violent); the other on the closing scene of his life, when he took his final vengeance on the Philistines in their feast to Dagon. These subjects, however, do not seem then to have had such attractions for Milton as some of the others in the list; for they are merely jotted down as above, whereas to some of the others, such as "*Dinah,*" "*Abram from Morea,*" and "*Sodom,*" are appended sketches of the plot, or hints for the treatment. Why, then, did Milton, in his later life, neglect so many other subjects of which he had kept his early notes, and cling so tenaciously to the story of Samson?

The reason is not far to seek; nor need we seek it in the fact that he had seen Italian, Latin, and even English, poems on the story of Samson, which may have reminded him of the theme. Todd and other commentators have dug up the titles of some such old poems, without being able to

prove that they suggested anything to Milton. The truth is that the capabilities of the theme, perceived by him through mere poetic tact as early as 1640-41, had been brought home to him, with singular force and intimacy, by the experience of his own subsequent life. The story of Samson must have seemed to Milton a metaphor or allegory of much of his own life in its later stages. He also, in his veteran days, after the Restoration, was a champion at bay, a prophet-warrior left alone among men of a different faith and different manners,—Philistines, who exulted in the ruin of his cause, and wreaked their wrath upon him for his past services to that cause by insults, calumnies, and jeers at his misfortunes and the cause itself. He also was blind, as Samson had been,—groping about among the malignant conditions that had befallen him, helplessly dependent on the guiding of others, and bereft of the external consolations and means of resistance to his scorners that might have come to him through sight. He also had to live mainly in the imagery of the past. In that past, too, there were similarities in his case to that of Samson. Like Samson, substantially, he had been a Nazarite,—no drinker of wine or strong drink, but one who had always been an ascetic in his dedicated service to great designs. And the chief blunder in his life, that which had gone nearest to wreck it, and had left the most marring consequences and the most painful reflections, was the very blunder of which, twice-repeated, Samson had to accuse himself. Like Samson, he had married a Philistine woman, one not of his own tribe, and having no thoughts or interests in common with his own; and, like Samson, he had suffered indignities from this wife and her relations, till he had learnt to rue the match. The consequences of Milton's unhappy first marriage (1643) in his temper and opinions are traceable in his biography far beyond their apparent end in the publication of his Divorce Pamphlets, followed by his hasty reconciliation with his wife after her two years' desertion of him (1645). Although, from that time, he lived with his first wife, without further audible complaint, till her death about 1652, and although his two subsequent marriages were happier, the recollection of his first marriage (and it was only the wife of this first marriage that he had ever *seen*) seems always to have been a sore in Milton's mind,

and to have affected his thoughts of the marriage-institution itself, and of the ways and character of women. In this respect also he could find coincidences between his own life and that of Samson, which recommended the story of Samson with far more poignancy to him in his later life than when he had first looked at it in the inexperience of his early manhood. In short, there must have rushed upon Milton, contemplating in his later life the story of the blind Samson among the Philistines, so many similarities with his own case that there is little wonder that he then selected this subject for poetic treatment. While writing *Samson Agonistes* (*i.e.* Samson the Agonist, Athlete, or Wrestler) he must have been secretly conscious throughout that he was representing much of his own feelings and experience; and the reader of the poem that knows anything of Milton's life has this pressed upon him at every turn. Probably the best introduction to the drama would be to read the Biblical history of Samson (Judges xiii.-xvi.) with the facts of Milton's life in one's mind.

The poem was put forth, however, with no intimation to this effect. That, indeed, might have been an obstacle to its passing the censorship. Readers were left to gather the fact for themselves, according to the degree of their information, and their quickness in interpreting. In the prose preface which Milton thought fit to prefix to the poem,—entitled "*Of that sort of Dramatic Poem which is called Tragedy*,"—he concerns himself not at all with the matter of the poem, or his own meaning in it, but only with its literary form. He explains why, towards the grave close of his life, he has not thought it inconsistent to write what might be called a Tragedy, and defines the particular kind of Tragedy he has taken care to write. The preface ought to be carefully read, in connexion with the remarks already made on Milton's early taste for the dramatic form of poesy and the variations to which that taste had been subjected by circumstances. It will be noted that a large portion of the preface is apologetic. Although, after the Restoration, the Drama had revived in England, and men were once more familiar with stage-plays, Milton evidently felt that many of his countrymen still retained their Puritanic horror of the Drama, and of all related to it, and that this horror might well be increased by the spectacle of the sort of plays

supplied to the re-opened theatres by Dryden, Killigrew, and the other caterers for the amusement of Charles II. and his Court. An explanation might be demanded why, when the Drama was thus becoming a greater abomination than ever, a man like Milton should give his countenance in any way to the dramatic form of poetry. Accordingly, Milton does explain, and in such a way as to distinguish as widely as possible between the tragedy he has written and the stage-dramas then popular. "Tragedy, as it was anciently composed," he says, "hath been ever held the gravest, moralest, and most profitable of all other poems." In order to fortify this statement, he repeats Aristotle's definition of Tragedy, and reminds his readers that "philosophers and other gravest writers" frequently cite the old tragic poets,—nay, that St. Paul himself had quoted a verse of Euripides, and that, according to the judgment of a Protestant commentator on the Apocalypse, that book might be viewed as a tragedy of peculiar structure, with choruses between the acts. Some of the most eminent and active men in history, he adds, including one of the Fathers of the Christian Church, had written or attempted Tragedies. All this, he says, "is mentioned to vindicate Tragedy from the small esteem, or rather infamy, which in the account of many it undergoes at this day, with other common interludes; happening through the poet's error of intermixing comic stuff with tragic sadness and gravity, or introducing trivial and vulgar persons; which by all judicious hath been counted absurd, and brought in without discretion, corruptly to gratify the people." It is impossible not to see, in the carefulness of this apology, that Milton felt that he was treading on perilous ground, and might give offence to the weaker brethren, by his use of the dramatic form at all, especially for a sacred subject. It is hardly possible, either, to avoid seeing, in the reference to the "error of intermixing comic stuff with tragic sadness and gravity," an allusion to Shakespeare, as well as to Dryden and the other post-Restoration dramatists.

Samson Agonistes, therefore, was offered to the world as a tragedy avowedly of a different order from that which had been established in England. It was a tragedy of the severe classic order, according to that noble Greek model which had been kept up by none of the modern nations,

unless it might be the Italians. In reading it, not Shakespeare, nor Ben Jonson, nor Massinger, must be thought of, but Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. Claiming this in general terms, the poet calls especial attention to his fidelity to ancient Greek precedents in two particulars,—his use of the chorus, and his observation of the rule of unity in time. The tragedy, he says, never having been intended for the stage, but only to be read, the division into acts and scenes is omitted. He does *not* say, however (and this is worth noting), that, had it been possible to produce the tragedy on the stage in a becoming manner, he would have objected to the experiment. It is said that Bishop Atterbury, about 1722, had a scheme for bringing *Samson Agonistes* on the stage at Westminster, the division into acts and scenes to be arranged by Pope. It was a fitter compliment when Handel, in 1742, made Samson the subject of an Oratorio, and married his great music to Milton's as great words.

SAMSON AGONISTES:

A DRAMATIC POEM.

THE AUTHOR

JOHN MILTON.

Aristot. Poet. cap. 6. Τραγῳδία μίμησις πράξεως σπουδαίας, etc.—Tragœdia est imitatio actionis seriæ, etc., per misericordiam et metum perficiens talium affectuum lustrationem.

OF THAT SORT OF DRAMATIC POEM CALLED TRAGEDY.

TRAGEDY, as it was anciently composed, hath been ever held the gravest, moralest, and most profitable of all other poems: therefore said by Aristotle to be of power, by raising pity and fear, or terror, to purge the mind of those and such-like passions,—that is, to temper and reduce them to just measure with a kind of delight, stirred up by reading or seeing those passions well imitated. Nor is Nature wanting in her own effects to make good his assertion; for so, in physic, things of melancholic hue and quality are used against melancholy, sour against sour, salt to remove salt humours. Hence philosophers and other gravest writers, as Cicero, Plutarch, and others, frequently cite out of tragic poets, both to adorn and illustrate their discourse. The Apostle Paul himself thought it not unworthy to insert a verse of Euripides into the text of Holy Scripture, 1 Cor. xv. 33; and Paræus, commenting on the *Revelation*, divides the whole book, as a tragedy, into acts, distinguished each by a Chorus of heavenly harpings and song between. Heretofore men in highest dignity have laboured not a little to be thought able to compose a tragedy. Of that honour Dionysius the elder was no less ambitious than before of his attaining to the tyranny. Augustus Cæsar also had begun his *Ajax*, but, unable to please his own judgment with what he had begun, left it unfinished. Seneca, the philosopher, is by some thought the author of those tragedies (at least the best of them) that go under that name. Gregory Nazianzen, a Father of the Church, thought it not unbeseeming the sanctity of his person to write a tragedy, which he entitled *Christ Suffering*. This is mentioned to vindicate Tragedy from the small esteem, or rather infamy, which in the account of many it undergoes at this day, with other common interludes; happening through the poet's error of intermixing comic stuff with tragic sadness

and gravity, or introducing trivial and vulgar persons: which by all judicious hath been counted absurd, and brought in without discretion, corruptly to gratify the people. And, though ancient Tragedy use no Prologue, yet using sometimes, in case of self-defence or explanation, that which Martial calls an Epistle, in behalf of this tragedy, coming forth after the ancient manner, much different from what among us passes for best, thus much beforehand may be *epistled*,—that Chorus is here introduced after the Greek manner, not ancient only, but modern, and still in use among the Italians. In the modelling therefore of this poem, with good reason, the Ancients and Italians are rather followed, as of much more authority and fame. The measure of verse used in the Chorus is of all sorts, called by the Greeks *monostrophic*, or rather *apolelymenon*, without regard had to strophe, antistrophe, or epode,—which were a kind of stanzas framed only for the music, then used with the Chorus that sung; not essential to the poem, and therefore not material: or, being divided into stanzas or pauses, they may be called *allæostropha*. Division into act and scene, referring chiefly to the stage (to which this work never was intended), is here omitted.

It suffices if the whole drama be found not produced beyond the fifth act. Of the style and uniformity, and that commonly called the plot, whether intricate or explicit,—which is nothing indeed but such economy, or disposition of the fable, as may stand best with verisimilitude and decorum,—they only will best judge who are not unacquainted with Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, the three tragic poets unequalled yet by any, and the best rule to all who endeavour to write Tragedy. The circumscription of time wherein the whole drama begins and ends is, according to ancient rule and best example, within the space of twenty-four hours.

THE ARGUMENT.

Samson, made captive, blind, and now in the prison at Gaza, there to labour as in a common workhouse, on a festival day, in the general cessation from labour, comes forth into the open air, to a place nigh, somewhat retired, there to sit a while and bemoan his condition. Where he happens at length to be visited by certain friends and equals of his tribe, which make the Chorus, who seek to comfort him what they can; then by his old father, Manoa, who endeavours the like, and withal tells him his purpose to procure his liberty by ransom; lastly, that this feast was proclaimed by the Philistines as a day of thanksgiving for their deliverance from the hands of Samson—which yet more troubles him. Manoa then departs to prosecute his endeavour with the Philistian lords for Samson's redemption: who, in the meanwhile, is visited by other persons, and, lastly, by a public officer to require his coming to the feast before the lords and people, to play or show his strength in their presence. He at first refuses, dismissing the public officer with absolute denial to come; at length, persuaded inwardly that this was from God, he yields to go along with him, who came now the second time with great threatenings to fetch him. The Chorus yet remaining on the place, Manoa returns full of joyful hope to procure ere long his son's deliverance; in the midst of which discourse an Ebrew comes in haste, confusedly at first, and afterwards more distinctly, relating the catastrophe—what Samson had done to the Philistines, and by accident to himself; wherewith the Tragedy ends.

THE PERSONS.

Samson.

Manoa, the father of Samson.	Public Officer.
Dalila, his wife.	Messenger.
Harapha of Gath.	Chorus of Danites.

The Scene, before the Prison in Gaza.

SAMSON AGONISTES.

SAMS. A little onward lend thy guiding hand
To these dark steps, a little further on ;
For yonder bank hath choice of sun or shade.
There I am wont to sit, when any chance
Relieves me from my task of servile toil,
Daily in the common prison else enjoined me,
Where I, a prisoner chained, scarce freely draw
The air, imprisoned also, close and damp,
Unwholesome draught. But here I feel amends—
The breath of heaven fresh blowing, pure and sweet,
With day-spring born ; here leave me to respire.
This day a solemn feast the people hold
To Dagon, their sea-idol, and forbid
Laborious works. Unwillingly this rest
Their superstition yields me ; hence, with leave
Retiring from the popular noise, I seek
This unfrequented place, to find some ease—
Ease to the body some, none to the mind
From restless thoughts, that, like a deadly swarm
Of hornets armed, no sooner found alone
But rush upon me thronging, and present
Times past, what once I was, and what am now.
Oh, wherefore was my birth from Heaven foretold
Twice by an Angel, who at last, in sight
Of both my parents, all in flames ascended
From off the altar where an offering burned,
As in a fiery column charioting
His godlike presence, and from some great act

Or benefit revealed to Abraham's race ?
Why was my breeding ordered and prescribed
As of a person separate to God,
Designed for great exploits, if I must die
Betrayed, captived, and both my eyes put out,
Made of my enemies the scorn and gaze,
To grind in brazen fetters under task
With this heaven-gifted strength? O glorious strength,
Put to the labour of a beast, debased
Lower than bond-slave! Promise was that I
Should Israel from Philistian yoke deliver!
Ask for this great deliverer now, and find him
Eyeless in Gaza, at the mill with slaves,
Himself in bonds under Philistian yoke.
Yet stay; let me not rashly call in doubt
Divine prediction. What if all foretold
Had been fulfilled but through mine own default?
Whom have I to complain of but myself,
Who this high gift of strength committed to me,
In what part lodged, how easily bereft me,
Under the seal of silence could not keep,
But weakly to a woman must reveal it,
O'ercome with importunity and tears?
O impotence of mind in body strong!
But what is strength without a double share
Of wisdom? Vast, unwieldy, burdensome,
Proudly secure, yet liable to fall
By weakest subtleties; not made to rule,
But to subserve where wisdom bears command.
God, when he gave me strength, to show withal
How slight the gift was, hung it in my hair.
But peace! I must not quarrel with the will
Of highest dispensation, which herein
Haply had ends above my reach to know.
Suffices that to me strength is my bane,
And proves the source of all my miseries—

So many, and so huge, that each apart
Would ask a life to wail. But, chief of all,
O loss of sight, of thee I most complain!
Blind among enemies! O worse than chains,
Dungeon, or beggary, or decrepit age!
Light, the prime work of God, to me is extinct,
And all her various objects of delight
Annulled, which might in part my grief have eased.
Inferior to the vilest now become
Of man or worm, the vilest here excel me:
They creep, yet see; I, dark in light, exposed
To daily fraud, contempt, abuse, and wrong,
Within doors, or without, still as a fool,
In power of others, never in my own—
Scarce half I seem to live, dead more than half.
O dark, dark, dark, amid the blaze of noon,
Irrecoverably dark, total eclipse
Without all hope of day!
O first-created beam, and thou great Word,
"Let there be light, and light was over all,"
Why am I thus bereaved thy prime decree?
The Sun to me is dark
And silent as the Moon,
When she deserts the night,
Hid in her vacant interlunar cave.
Since light so necessary is to life,
And almost life itself, if it be true
That light is in the soul,
She all in every part, why was the sight
To such a tender ball as the eye confined,
So obvious and so easy to be quenched,
And not, as feeling, through all parts diffused,
That she might look at will through every pore?
Then had I not been thus exiled from light,
As in the land of darkness, yet in light,
To live a life half dead, a living death,

And buried; but, O yet more miserable!
Myself my sepulchre, a moving grave;
Buried, yet not exempt,
By privilege of death and burial,
From worst of other evils, pains, and wrongs;
But made hereby obnoxious more
To all the miseries of life,
Life in captivity
Among inhuman foes.
But who are these? for with joint pace I hear
The tread of many feet steering this way;
Perhaps my enemies, who come to stare
At my affliction, and perhaps to insult—
Their daily practice to afflict me more.
Chor. This, this is he; softly a while;
Let us not break in upon him.
O change beyond report, thought, or belief!
See how he lies at random, carelessly diffused,
With languished head unpropt,
As one past hope, abandoned,
And by himself given over,
In slavish habit, ill-fitted weeds
O'er-worn and soiled.
Or do my eyes misrepresent? Can this be he,
That heroic, that renowned,
Irresistible Samson? whom, unarmed,
No strength of man, or fiercest wild beast, could withstand;
Who tore the lion as the lion tears the kid;
Ran on embattled armies clad in iron,
And, weaponless himself,
Made arms ridiculous, useless the forgery
Of brazen shield and spear, the hammered cuirass,
Chalybean-tempered steel, and frock of mail
Adamantean proof:
But safest he who stood aloof,

When insupportably his foot advanced,
In scorn of their proud arms and warlike tools,
Spurned them to death by troops. The bold Ascalonite
Fled from his lion ramp; old warriors turned
Their plated backs under his heel,
Or grovelling soiled their crested helmets in the dust.
Then with what trivial weapon came to hand,
The jaw of a dead ass, his sword of bone,
A thousand foreskins fell, the flower of Palestine,
In Ramath-lechi, famous to this day:
Then by main force pulled up, and on his shoulders bore,
The gates of Azza, post and massy bar,
Up to the hill by Hebron, seat of giants old—
No journey of a sabbath-day, and loaded so—
Like whom the Gentiles feign to bear up Heaven.
Which shall I first bewail—
Thy bondage or lost sight,
Prison within prison
Inseparably dark?
Thou art become (O worst imprisonment!)
The dungeon of thyself; thy soul,
(Which men enjoying sight oft without cause complain)
Imprisoned now indeed,
In real darkness of the body dwells,
Shut up from outward light
To incorporate with gloomy night;
For inward light, alas!
Puts forth no visual beam.
O mirror of our fickle state,
Since man on earth, unparalleled!
The rarer thy example stands,
By how much from the top of wondrous glory,
Strongest of mortal men,
To lowest pitch of abject fortune thou art fallen.
For him I reckon not in high estate
Whom long descent of birth,

Or the sphere of fortune, raises ;
But thee, whose strength, while virtue was her mate,
Might have subdued the Earth,
Universally crowned with highest praises.

Sams. I hear the sound of words ; their sense the air
Dissolves unjointed ere it reach my ear.

Chor. He speaks : let us draw nigh. Matchless in might,
The glory late of Israel, now the grief !
We come, thy friends and neighbours not unknown,
From Eshtaol and Zora's fruitful vale,
To visit or bewail thee ; or, if better,
Counsel or consolation we may bring,
Salve to thy sores : apt words have power to swage
The tumours of a troubled mind,
And are as balm to festered wounds.

Sams. Your coming, friends, revives me ; for I learn
Now of my own experience, not by talk,
How counterfeit a coin they are who 'friends'
Bear in their superscription (of the most
I would be understood). In prosperous days
They swarm, but in adverse withdraw their head,
Not to be found, though sought. Ye see, O friends,
How many evils have enclosed me round ;
Yet that which was the worst now least afflicts me,
Blindness ; for, had I sight, confused with shame,
How could I once look up, or heave the head,
Who, like a foolish pilot, have shipwracked
My vessel trusted to me from above,
Gloriously rigged, and for a word, a tear,
Fool ! have divulged the secret gift of God
To a deceitful woman ? Tell me, friends,
Am I not sung and proverbed for a fool
In every street ? Do they not say, 'How well
Are come upon him his deserts' ? Yet why ?
Immeasurable strength they might behold

In me; of wisdom nothing more than mean.
This with the other should at least have paired;
These two, proportioned ill, drove me transverse.
Chor. Tax not divine disposal. Wisest men
Have erred, and by bad women been deceived;
And shall again, pretend they ne'er so wise.
Deject not, then, so overmuch thyself,
Who hast of sorrow thy full load besides.
Yet, truth to say, I oft have heard men wonder
Why thou should'st wed Philistian women rather
Than of thine own tribe fairer, or as fair,
At least of thy own nation, and as noble.
Sams. The first I saw at Timna, and she pleased
Me, not my parents, that I sought to wed
The daughter of an infidel. They knew not
That what I motioned was of God; I knew
From intimate impulse, and therefore urged
The marriage on, that, by occasion hence,
I might begin Israel's deliverance—
The work to which I was divinely called.
She proving false, the next I took to wife
(O that I never had! fond wish too late!)
Was in the vale of Sorec, Dalila,
That specious monster, my accomplished snare.
I thought it lawful from my former act,
And the same end, still watching to oppress
Israel's oppressors. Of what now I suffer
She was not the prime cause, but I myself,
Who, vanquished with a peal of words (O weakness!),
Gave up my fort of silence to a woman.
Chor. In seeking just occasion to provoke
The Philistine, thy country's enemy,
Thou never wast remiss, I bear thee witness;
Yet Israel still serves with all his sons.
Sams. That fault I take not on me, but transfer
On Israel's governors and heads of tribes,

Who, seeing those great acts which God had done
Singly by me against their conquerors,
Acknowledged not, or not at all considered,
Deliverance offered. I, on the other side,
Used no ambition to commend my deeds;
The deeds themselves, though mute, spoke loud the doer.
But they persisted deaf, and would not seem
To count them things worth notice, till at length
Their lords, the Philistines, with gathered powers,
Entered Judea, seeking me, who then
Safe to the rock of Etham was retired—
Not flying, but forecasting in what place
To set upon them, what advantaged best.
Meanwhile the men of Judah, to prevent
The harass of their land, beset me round;
I willingly on some conditions came
Into their hands, and they as gladly yield me
To the Uncircumcised a welcome prey,
Bound with two cords. But cords to me were threads
Touched with the flame: on their whole host I flew
Unarmed, and with a trivial weapon felled
Their choicest youth; they only lived who fled.
Had Judah that day joined, or one whole tribe,
They had by this possessed the towers of Gath,
And lorded over them whom now they serve.
But what more oft, in nations grown corrupt,
And by their vices brought to servitude,
Than to love bondage more than liberty—
Bondage with ease than strenuous liberty—
And to despise, or envy, or suspect,
Whom God hath of his special favour raised
As their deliverer? If he aught begin,
How frequent to desert him, and at last
To heap ingratitude on worthiest deeds!

Chor. Thy words to my remembrance bring

How Succoth and the fort of Penuel
Their great deliverer contemned,
The matchless Gideon, in pursuit
Of Madian, and her vanquished kings;
And how ingrateful Ephraim
Had dealt with Jephtha, who by argument,
Not worse than by his shield and spear,
Defended Israel from the Ammonite,
Had not his prowess quelled their pride
In that sore battle when so many died
Without reprieve, adjudged to death
For want of well pronouncing *Shibboleth*.

Sams. Of such examples add me to the roll.
Me easily indeed mine may neglect,
But God's proposed deliverance not so.

Chor. Just are the ways of God,
And justifiable to men,
Unless there be who think not God at all.
If any be, they walk obscure;
For of such doctrine never was there school,
But the heart of the fool,
And no man therein doctor but himself.

Yet more there be who doubt his ways not just,
As to his own edicts found contradicting;
Then give the reins to wandering thought,
Regardless of his glory's diminution,
Till, by their own perplexities involved,
They ravel more, still less resolved,
But never find self-satisfying solution.

As if they would confine the Interminable,
And tie him to his own prescript,
Who made our laws to bind us, not himself,
And hath full right to exempt
Whomso it pleases him by choice
From national obstriction, without taint
Of sin, or legal debt;

For with his own laws he can best dispense.
He would not else, who never wanted means,
Nor in respect of the enemy just cause,
To set his people free,
Have prompted this heroic Nazarite,
Against his vow of strictest purity,
To seek in marriage that fallacious bride,
Unclean, unchaste.
Down, Reason, then; at least, vain reasonings down;
Though Reason here aver
That moral verdit quits her of unclean:
Unchaste was subsequent; her stain, not his.
But see! here comes thy reverend sire,
With careful step, locks white as down,
Old Manoa: advise
Forthwith how thou ought'st to receive him.
Sams. Ay me! another inward grief, awaked
With mention of that name, renews the assault.
Man. Brethren and men of Dan (for such ye seem,
Though in this uncouth place), if old respect,
As I suppose, towards your once gloried friend,
My son, now captive, hither hath informed
Your younger feet, while mine, cast back with age,
Came lagging after, say if he be here.
Chor. As signal now in low dejected state
As erst in highest, behold him where he lies.
Man. O miserable change! Is this the man,
That invincible Samson, far renowned,
The dread of Israel's foes, who with a strength
Equivalent to Angels' walked their streets,
None offering fight; who, single combatant,
Duelled their armies ranked in proud array,
Himself an army—now unequal match
To save himself against a coward armed
At one spear's length? O ever-failing trust
In mortal strength! and, oh, what not in man

Deceivable and vain? Nay, what thing good
Prayed for, but often proves our woe, our bane?
I prayed for children, and thought barrenness
In wedlock a reproach; I gained a son,
And such a son as all men hailed me happy:
Who would be now a father in my stead?
Oh, wherefore did God grant me my request,
And as a blessing with such pomp adorned?
Why are his gifts desirable, to tempt
Our earnest prayers, then, given with solemn hand
As graces, draw a scorpion's tail behind?
For this did the Angel twice descend? for this
Ordained thy nurture holy, as of a plant
Select and sacred? glorious for a while,
The miracle of men; then in an hour
Ensnared, assaulted, overcome, led bound,
Thy foes' derision, captive, poor and blind,
Into a dungeon thrust, to work with slaves!
Alas! methinks whom God hath chosen once
To worthiest deeds, if he through frailty err,
He should not so o'erwhelm, and as a thrall
Subject him to so foul indignities,
Be it but for honour's sake of former deeds.

Sams. Appoint not heavenly disposition, father.
Nothing of all these evils hath befallen me
But justly; I myself have brought them on;
Sole author I, sole cause. If aught seem vile,
As vile hath been my folly, who have profaned
The mystery of God, given me under pledge
Of vow, and have betrayed it to a woman,
A Canaanite, my faithless enemy.
This well I knew, nor was at all surprised,
But warned by oft experience. Did not she
Of Timna first betray me, and reveal
The secret wrested from me in her highth
Of nuptial love professed, carrying it straight

To them who had corrupted her, my spies
And rivals? In this other was there found
More faith, who, also in her prime of love,
Spousal embraces, vitiated with gold,
Though offered only, by the scent conceived,
Her spurious first-born, Treason against me?
Thrice she assayed, with flattering prayers and sighs,
And amorous reproaches, to win from me
My capital secret, in what part my strength
Lay stored, in what part summed, that she might know;
Thrice I deluded her, and turned to sport
Her importunity, each time perceiving
How openly and with what impudence
She purposed to betray me, and (which was worse
Than undissembled hate) with what contempt
She sought to make me traitor to myself.
Yet, the fourth time, when, mustering all her wiles,
With blandished parleys, feminine assaults,
Tongue-batteries, she surceased not day nor night
To storm me, over-watched and wearied out,
At times when men seek most repose and rest,
I yielded, and unlocked her all my heart,
Who, with a grain of manhood well resolved,
Might easily have shook off all her snares;
But foul effeminacy held me yoked
Her bond-slave. O indignity, O blot
To honour and religion! servile mind
Rewarded well with servile punishment!
The base degree to which I now am fallen,
These rags, this grinding, is not yet so base
As was my former servitude, ignoble,
Unmanly, ignominious, infamous,
True slavery; and that blindness worse than this,
That saw not how degenerately I served.

Man. I cannot praise thy marriage-choices, son—
Rather approved them not; but thou didst plead

Divine impulsion prompting how thou might'st
Find some occasion to infest our foes.
I state not that; this I am sure—our foes
Found soon occasion thereby to make thee
Their captive, and their triumph; thou the sooner
Temptation found'st, or over-potent charms,
To violate the sacred trust of silence
Deposited within thee—which to have kept
Tacit was in thy power. True; and thou bear'st
Enough, and more, the burden of that fault; 431
Bitterly hast thou paid, and still art paying,
That rigid score. A worse thing yet remains:—
This day the Philistines a popular feast
Here celebrate in Gaza, and proclaim
Great pomp, and sacrifice, and praises loud,
To Dagon, as their god who hath delivered
Thee, Samson, bound and blind, into their hands—
Them out of thine, who slew'st them many a slain.
So Dagon shall be magnified, and God,
Besides whom is no god, compared with idols,
Disglorified, blasphemed, and had in scorn
By the idolatrous rout amidst their wine;
Which to have come to pass by means of thee,
Samson, of all thy sufferings think the heaviest,
Of all reproach the most with shame that ever
Could have befallen thee and thy father's house.
Sams. Father, I do acknowledge and confess
That I this honour, I this pomp, have brought
To Dagon, and advanced his praises high
Among the Heathen round—to God have brought
Dishonour, obloquy, and oped the mouths
Of idolists and atheists; have brought scandal
To Israel, diffidence of God, and doubt
In feeble hearts, propense enough before
To waver, or fall off and join with idols:
Which is my chief affliction, shame and sorrow,

The anguish of my soul, that suffers not
Mine eye to harbour sleep, or thoughts to rest.
This only hope relieves me, that the strife
With me hath end. All the contest is now
'Twixt God and Dagon. Dagon hath presumed,
Me overthrown, to enter lists with God,
His deity comparing and preferring
Before the God of Abraham. He, be sure,
Will not connive, or linger, thus provoked,
But will arise, and his great name assert.
Dagon must stoop, and shall ere long receive
Such a discomfit as shall quite despoil him
Of all these boasted trophies won on me,
And with confusion blank his worshipers.

Man. With cause this hope relieves thee; and these words
I as a prophecy receive; for God
(Nothing more certain) will not long defer
To vindicate the glory of his name
Against all competition, nor will long
Endure it doubtful whether God be Lord
Or Dagon. But for thee what shall be done?
Thou must not in the meanwhile, here forgot,
Lie in this miserable loathsome plight
Neglected. I already have made way
To some Philistian lords, with whom to treat
About thy ransom. Well they may by this
Have satisfied their utmost of revenge,
By pains and slaveries, worse than death, inflicted
On thee, who now no more canst do them harm.

Sams. Spare that proposal, father; spare the trouble
Of that solicitation. Let me here,
As I deserve, pay on my punishment,
And expiate, if possible, my crime,
Shameful garrulity. To have revealed

Secrets of *men*, the secrets of a friend,
How heinous had the fact been, how deserving
Contempt and scorn of all—to be excluded
All friendship, and avoided as a blab,
The mark of fool set on his front!
But I *God's* counsel have not kept, his holy secret
Presumptuously have published, impiously,
Weakly at least and shamefully—a sin
That Gentiles in their parables condemn
To their Abyss and horrid pains confined.
Man. Be penitent, and for thy fault contrite;
But act not in thy own affliction, son.
Repent the sin; but, if the punishment
Thou canst avoid, self-preservation bids;
Or the execution leave to high disposal,
And let another hand, not thine, exact
Thy penal forfeit from thyself. Perhaps
God will relent, and quit thee all his debt;
Who ever more approves and more accepts
(Best pleased with humble and filial submission)
Him who, imploring mercy, sues for life,
Than who, self-rigorous, chooses death as due;
Which argues over-just, and self-displeased
For self-offence more than for God offended.
Reject not, then, what offered means who knows
But God hath set before us to return thee
Home to thy country and his sacred house,
Where thou may'st bring thy offerings, to avert
His further ire, with prayers and vows renewed.
Sams. His pardon I implore; but, as for life,
To what end should I seek it? When in strength
All mortals I excelled, and great in hopes,
With youthful courage, and magnanimous thoughts
Of birth from Heaven foretold and high exploits,
Full of divine instinct, after some proof
Of acts indeed heroic, far beyond

The sons of Anak, famous now and blazed,
Fearless of danger, like a petty god
I walked about, admired of all, and dreaded
On hostile ground, none daring my affront—
Then, swollen with pride, into the snare I fell
Of fair fallacious looks, venereal trains,
Softened with pleasure and voluptuous life,
At length to lay my head and hallowed pledge
Of all my strength in the lascivious lap
Of a deceitful concubine, who shore me,
Like a tame wether, all my precious fleece,
Then turned me out ridiculous, despoiled,
Shaven, and disarmed among my enemies.
Chor. Desire of wine and all delicious drinks,
Which many a famous warrior overturns,
Thou could'st repress; nor did the dancing ruby,
Sparkling out-poured, the flavour or the smell,
Or taste, that cheers the heart of gods and men,
Allure thee from the cool crystalline stream.
Sams. Wherever fountain or fresh current flowed
Against the eastern ray, translucent, pure
With touch ethereal of Heaven's fiery rod,
I drank, from the clear milky juice allaying
Thirst, and refreshed; nor envied them the grape
Whose heads that turbulent liquor fills with fumes.
Chor. O madness! to think use of strongest wines
And strongest drinks our chief support of health,
When God with these forbidden made choice to rear
His mighty champion, strong above compare,
Whose drink was only from the liquid brook!
Sams. But what availed this temperance, not complete
Against another object more enticing?
What boots it at one gate to make defence,
And at another to let in the foe,
Effeminately vanquished? by which means,

Now blind, disheartened, shamed, dishonoured,
quelled,
To what can I be useful? wherein serve
My nation, and the work from Heaven imposed?
But to sit idle on the household hearth,
A burdenous drone; to visitants a gaze,
Or pitied object; these redundant locks,
Robustious to no purpose, clustering down,
Vain monument of strength; till length of years
And sedentary numbness craze my limbs
To a contemptible old age obscure.
Here rather let me drudge, and earn my bread,
Till vermin, or the draff of servile food,
Consume me, and oft-invocated death
Hasten the welcome end of all my pains.

Man. Wilt thou then serve the Philistines with
that gift
Which was expressly given thee to annoy them?
Better at home lie bed-rid, not only idle,
Inglorious, unemployed, with age outworn.
But God, who caused a fountain at thy prayer
From the dry ground to spring, thy thirst to allay
After the brunt of battle, can as easy
Cause light again within thy eyes to spring,
Wherewith to serve him better than thou hast.
And I persuade me so. Why else this strength
Miraculous yet remaining in those locks?
His might continues in thee not for naught,
Nor shall his wondrous gifts be frustrate thus.

Sams. All otherwise to me my thoughts portend—
That these dark orbs no more shall treat with light,
Nor the other light of life continue long,
But yield to double darkness nigh at hand;
So much I feel my genial spirits droop,
My hopes all flat: Nature within me seems
In all her functions weary of herself;

My race of glory run, and race of shame,
And I shall shortly be with them that rest.
Man. Believe not these suggestions, which proceed
From anguish of the mind, and humours black
That mingle with thy fancy. I, however,
Must not omit a father's timely care
To prosecute the means of thy deliverance
By ransom or how else: meanwhile be calm,
And healing words from these thy friends admit.
Sams. Oh, that torment should not be confined
To the body's wounds and sores,
With maladies innumerable
In heart, head, breast, and reins,
But must secret passage find
To the inmost mind,
There exercise all his fierce accidents,
And on her purest spirits prey,
As on entrails, joints, and limbs,
With answerable pains, but more intense,
Though void of corporal sense!
My griefs not only pain me
As a lingering disease,
But, finding no redress, ferment and rage;
Nor less than wounds immedicable
Rankle, and fester, and gangrene,
To black mortification.
Thoughts, my tormentors, armed with deadly stings,
Mangle my apprehensive tenderest parts,
Exasperate, exulcerate, and raise
Dire inflammation, which no cooling herb
Or medicinal liquor can assuage,
Nor breath of vernal air from snowy Alp.
Sleep hath forsook and given me o'er
To death's benumbing opium as my only cure;
Thence faintings, swoonings of despair,
And sense of Heaven's desertion.

I was his nursling once and choice delight,
His destined from the womb,
Promised by heavenly message twice descending.
Under his special eye
Abstemious I grew up and thrived amain;
He led me on to mightiest deeds,
Above the nerve of mortal arm,
Against the Uncircumcised, our enemies:
But now hath cast me off as never known,
And to those cruel enemies,
Whom I by his appointment had provoked,
Left me all helpless, with the irreparable loss
Of sight, reserved alive to be repeated
The subject of their cruelty or scorn.
Nor am I in the list of them that hope;
Hopeless are all my evils, all remediless.
This one prayer yet remains, might I be heard,
No long petition—speedy death,
The close of all my miseries and the balm.

Chor. Many are the sayings of the wise,
In ancient and in modern books enrolled,
Extolling patience as the truest fortitude,
And to the bearing well of all calamities,
All chances incident to man's frail life,
Consolatories writ
With studied argument, and much persuasion sought,
Lenient of grief and anxious thought.
But with the afflicted in his pangs their sound
Little prevails, or rather seems a tune
Harsh, and of dissonant mood from his complaint,
Unless he feel within
Some source of consolation from above,
Secret refreshings that repair his strength
And fainting spirits uphold.

God of our fathers! what is Man,
That thou towards him with hand so various—

Or might I say contrarious?—
Temper'st thy providence through his short course:
Not evenly, as thou rul'st
The angelic orders, and inferior creatures mute,
Irrational and brute?
Nor do I name of men the common rout,
That, wandering loose about,
Grow up and perish as the summer fly,
Heads without name, no more remembered;
But such as thou hast solemnly elected,
With gifts and graces eminently adorned,
To some great work, thy glory,
And people's safety, which in part they effect.
Yet toward these, thus dignified, thou oft,
Amidst their highth of noon,
Changest thy countenance and thy hand, with no regard
Of highest favours past
From thee on them, or them to thee of service.
  Nor only dost degrade them, or remit
To life obscured, which were a fair dismission,
But throw'st them lower than thou didst exalt them high—
Unseemly falls in human eye,
Too grievous for the trespass or omission;
Oft leav'st them to the hostile sword
Of heathen and profane, their carcasses
To dogs and fowls a prey, or else captived,
Or to the unjust tribunals, under change of times,
And condemnation of the ungrateful multitude.
If these they scape, perhaps in poverty
With sickness and disease thou bow'st them down,
Painful diseases and deformed,
In crude old age;
Though not disordinate, yet causeless suffering
The punishment of dissolute days. In fine,
Just or unjust alike seem miserable,

For oft alike both come to evil end.
So deal not with this once thy glorious champion,
The image of thy strength, and mighty minister.
What do I beg? how hast thou dealt already!
Behold him in this state calamitous, and turn
His labours, for thou canst, to peaceful end.
But who is this? what thing of sea or land—
Female of sex it seems—
That, so bedecked, ornate, and gay,
Comes this way sailing,
Like a stately ship
Of Tarsus, bound for the isles
Of Javan or Gadire,
With all her bravery on, and tackle trim,
Sails filled, and streamers waving,
Courted by all the winds that hold them play;
An amber scent of odorous perfume
Her harbinger, a damsel train behind?
Some rich Philistian matron she may seem;
And now, at nearer view, no other certain
Than Dalila thy wife.

Sams. My wife! my traitress! let her not come near me.

Chor. Yet on she moves; now stands and eyes thee fixed,
About to have spoke; but now, with head declined,
Like a fair flower surcharged with dew, she weeps,
And words addressed seem into tears dissolved,
Wetting the borders of her silken veil.
But now again she makes address to speak.

Dal. With doubtful feet and wavering resolution
I came, still dreading thy displeasure, Samson;
Which to have merited, without excuse,
I cannot but acknowledge. Yet, if tears
May expiate (though the fact more evil drew
In the perverse event than I foresaw),

My penance hath not slackened, though my pardon
No way assured. But conjugal affection,
Prevailing over fear and timorous doubt,
Hath led me on, desirous to behold
Once more thy face, and know of thy estate,
If aught in my ability may serve
To lighten what thou suffer'st, and appease
Thy mind with what amends is in my power—
Though late, yet in some part to recompense
My rash but more unfortunate misdeed.

Sams. Out, out, hyæna! These are thy wonted arts,
And arts of every woman false like thee—
To break all faith, all vows, deceive, betray;
Then, as repentant, to submit, beseech,
And reconcilement move with feigned remorse,
Confess, and promise wonders in her change—
Not truly penitent, but chief to try
Her husband, how far urged his patience bears,
His virtue or weakness which way to assail:
Then, with more cautious and instructed skill,
Again transgresses, and again submits;
That wisest and best men, full oft beguiled,
With goodness principled not to reject
The penitent, but ever to forgive,
Are drawn to wear out miserable days,
Entangled with a poisonous bosom-snake,
If not by quick destruction soon cut off,
As I by thee, to ages an example.

Dal. Yet hear me, Samson; not that I endeavour
To lessen or extenuate my offence,
But that, on the other side, if it be weighed
By itself, with aggravations not surcharged,
Or else with just allowance counterpoised,
I may, if possible, thy pardon find
The easier towards me, or thy hatred less.
First granting, as I do, it was a weakness

In me, but incident to all our sex,
Curiosity, inquisitive, importune
Of secrets, then with like infirmity
To publish them—both common female faults—
Was it not weakness also to make known,
For importunity, that is for naught,
Wherein consisted all thy strength and safety?
To what I did thou show'dst me first the way.
But I to enemies revealed, and should not!
Nor should'st thou have trusted that to woman's frailty:
Ere I to thee, thou to thyself wast cruel.
Let weakness, then, with weakness come to parle,
So near related, or the same of kind;
Thine forgive mine, that men may censure thine
The gentler, if severely thou exact not
More strength from me than in thyself was found.
And what if love, which thou interpret'st hate,
The jealousy of love, powerful of sway
In human hearts, nor less in mine towards thee,
Caused what I did? I saw thee mutable
Of fancy; feared lest one day thou would'st leave me,
As her at Timna; sought by all means, therefore,
How to endear, and hold thee to me firmest:
No better way I saw than by importuning
To learn thy secrets, get into my power
Thy key of strength and safety. Thou wilt say,
'Why, then, revealed?' I was assured by those
Who tempted me that nothing was designed
Against thee but safe custody and hold.
That made for me; I knew that liberty
Would draw thee forth to perilous enterprises,
While I at home sat full of cares and fears,
Wailing thy absence in my widowed bed;
Here I should still enjoy thee, day and night,
Mine and love's prisoner, not the Philistines',
Whole to myself, unhazarded abroad,

Fearless at home of partners in my love.
These reasons in Love's law have passed for good,
Though fond and reasonless to some perhaps;
And love hath oft, well meaning, wrought much woe,
Yet always pity or pardon hath obtained.
Be not unlike all others, not austere
As thou art strong, inflexible as steel.
If thou in strength all mortals dost exceed,
In uncompassionate anger do not so.

Sams. How cunningly the sorceress displays
Her own transgressions, to upbraid me mine!
That malice, not repentance, brought thee hither,
By this appears. I gave, thou say'st, the example,
I led the way—bitter reproach, but true;
I to myself was false ere thou to me.
Such pardon, therefore, as I give my folly
Take to thy wicked deed; which when thou seest
Impartial, self-severe, inexorable,
Thou wilt renounce thy seeking, and much rather
Confess it feigned. Weakness is thy excuse,
And I believe it—weakness to resist
Philistian gold. If weakness may excuse,
What murtherer, what traitor, parricide,
Incestuous, sacrilegious, but may plead it?
All wickedness is weakness; that plea, therefore,
With God or man will gain thee no remission.
But love constrained thee! Call it furious rage
To satisfy thy lust. Love seeks to have love;
My love how could'st thou hope, who took'st the way
To raise in me inexpiable hate,
Knowing, as needs I must, by thee betrayed?
In vain thou striv'st to cover shame with shame,
Or by evasions thy crime uncover'st more.

Dal. Since thou determin'st weakness for no plea
In man or woman, though to thy own condemning,
Hear what assaults I had, what snares besides,

What sieges girt me round, ere I consented;
Which might have awed the best-resolved of men,
The constantest, to have yielded without blame.
It was not gold, as to my charge thou lay'st,
That wrought with me. Thou know'st the magistrates
And princes of my country came in person,
Solicited, commanded, threatened, urged,
Adjured by all the bonds of civil duty
And of religion—pressed how just it was,
How honourable, how glorious, to entrap
A common enemy, who had destroyed
Such numbers of our nation: and the priest
Was not behind, but ever at my ear,
Preaching how meritorious with the gods
It would be to ensnare an irreligious
Dishonourer of Dagon. What had I
To oppose against such powerful arguments?
Only my love of thee held long debate,
And combated in silence all these reasons
With hard contest. At length, that grounded maxim,
So rife and celebrated in the mouths
Of wisest men, that to the public good
Private respects must yield, with grave authority
Took full possession of me, and prevailed;
Virtue, as I thought, truth, duty, so enjoining.

Sams. I thought where all thy circling wiles would end—
In feigned religion, smooth hypocrisy!
But, had thy love, still odiously pretended,
Been, as it ought, sincere, it would have taught thee
Far other reasonings, brought forth other deeds.
I, before all the daughters of my tribe
And of my nation, chose thee from among
My enemies, loved thee, as too well thou knew'st;
Too well; unbosomed all my secrets to thee,
Not out of levity, but overpowered

By thy request, who could deny thee nothing;
Yet now am judged an enemy. Why, then,
Didst thou at first receive me for thy husband—
Then, as since then, thy country's foe professed?
Being once a wife, for me thou wast to leave
Parents and country; nor was I their subject,
Nor under their protection, but my own;
Thou mine, not theirs. If aught against my life
Thy country sought of thee, it sought unjustly,
Against the law of nature, law of nations;
No more thy country, but an impious crew
Of men conspiring to uphold their state
By worse than hostile deeds, violating the ends
For which our country is a name so dear;
Not therefore to be obeyed. But zeal moved thee;
To please thy gods thou didst it! Gods unable
To acquit themselves and prosecute their foes
But by ungodly deeds, the contradiction
Of their own deity, Gods cannot be—
Less therefore to be pleased, obeyed, or feared.
These false pretexts and varnished colours failing,
Bare in thy guilt, how foul must thou appear!
Dal. In argument with men a woman ever
Goes by the worse, whatever be her cause.
Sams. For want of words, no doubt, or lack of breath!
Witness when I was worried with thy peals.
Dal. I was a fool, too rash, and quite mistaken
In what I thought would have succeeded best.
Let me obtain forgiveness of thee, Samson;
Afford me place to show what recompense
Towards thee I intend for what I have misdone,
Misguided. Only what remains past cure
Bear not too sensibly, nor still insist
To afflict thyself in vain. Though sight be lost,
Life yet hath many solaces, enjoyed
Where other senses want not their delights—

At home, in leisure and domestic ease,
Exempt from many a care and chance to which
Eyesight exposes, daily, men abroad.
I to the lords will intercede, not doubting
Their favourable ear, that I may fetch thee
From forth this loathsome prison-house, to abide
With me, where my redoubled love and care,
With nursing diligence, to me glad office,
May ever tend about thee to old age,
With all things grateful cheered, and so supplied
That what by me thou hast lost thou least shalt miss.
Sams. No, no; of my condition take no care;
It fits not; thou and I long since are twain;
Nor think me so unwary or accursed
To bring my feet again into the snare
Where once I have been caught. I know thy trains,
Though dearly to my cost, thy gins, and toils.
Thy fair enchanted cup, and warbling charms,
No more on me have power; their force is nulled;
So much of adder's wisdom I have learned,
To fence my ear against thy sorceries.
If in my flower of youth and strength, when all men
Loved, honoured, feared me, thou alone could hate me,
Thy husband, slight me, sell me, and forgo me,
How would'st thou use me now, blind, and thereby
Deceivable, in most things as a child
Helpless, thence easily contemned and scorned,
And last neglected! How would'st thou insult,
When I must live uxorious to thy will
In perfect thraldom! how again betray me,
Bearing my words and doings to the lords
To gloss upon, and, censuring, frown or smile!
This jail I count the house of liberty
To thine, whose doors my feet shall never enter.
Dal. Let me approach at least, and touch thy hand.
Sams. Not for thy life, lest fierce remembrance wake

My sudden rage to tear thee joint by joint.
At distance I forgive thee; go with that;
Bewail thy falsehood, and the pious works
It hath brought forth to make thee memorable
Among illustrious women, faithful wives;
Cherish thy hastened widowhood with the gold
Of matrimonial treason: so farewell.

Dal. I see thou art implacable, more deaf
To prayers than winds and seas. Yet winds to seas
Are reconciled at length, and sea to shore:
Thy anger, unappeasable, still rages,
Eternal tempest never to be calmed.
Why do I humble thus myself, and, suing
For peace, reap nothing but repulse and hate,
Bid go with evil omen, and the brand
Of infamy upon my name denounced?
To mix with thy concernments I desist
Henceforth, nor too much disapprove my own.
Fame, if not double-faced, is double-mouthed,
And with contrary blast proclaims most deeds;
On both his wings, one black, the other white,
Bears greatest names in his wild aery flight.
My name, perhaps, among the Circumcised
In Dan, in Judah, and the bordering tribes,
To all posterity may stand defamed,
With malediction mentioned, and the blot
Of falsehood most unconjugal traduced.
But in my country, where I most desire,
In Ecron, Gaza, Asdod, and in Gath,
I shall be named among the famousest
Of women, sung at solemn festivals,
Living and dead recorded, who to save
Her country from a fierce destroyer chose
Above the faith of wedlock bands; my tomb
With odours visited and annual flowers;
Not less renowned than in Mount Ephraim

Jael, who, with inhospitable guile,
Smote Sisera sleeping, through the temples nailed.
Nor shall I count it heinous to enjoy
The public marks of honour and reward
Conferred upon me for the piety
Which to my country I was judged to have shown.
At this whoever envies or repines,
I leave him to his lot, and like my own.

Chor. She's gone—a manifest serpent by her sting
Discovered in the end, till now concealed.

Sams. So let her go. God sent her to debase me,
And aggravate my folly, who committed
To such a viper his most sacred trust
Of secrecy, my safety, and my life.

Chor. Yet beauty, though injurious, hath strange power,
After offence returning, to regain
Love once possessed, nor can be easily
Repulsed, without much inward passion felt,
And secret sting of amorous remorse.

Sams. Love-quarrels oft in pleasing concord end;
Not wedlock-treachery endangering life.

Chor. It is not virtue, wisdom, valour, wit,
Strength, comeliness of shape, or amplest merit,
That woman's love can win, or long inherit;
But what it is hard is to say,
Harder to hit,
Which way soever men refer it
(Much like thy riddle, Samson), in one day
Or seven though one should musing sit.

If any of these, or all, the Timnian bride
Had not so soon preferred
Thy paranymph, worthless to thee compared,
Successor in thy bed,
Nor both so loosely disallied
Their nuptials, nor this last so treacherously

Had shorn the fatal harvest of thy head.
Is it for that such outward ornament
Was lavished on their sex, that inward gifts
Were left for haste unfinished, judgment scant,
Capacity not raised to apprehend
Or value what is best
In choice, but oftest to affect the wrong?
Or was too much of self-love mixed,
Of constancy no root infixed,
That either they love nothing, or not long?
Whate'er it be, to wisest men and best
Seeming at first all heavenly under virgin veil,
Soft, modest, meek, demure,
Once joined, the contrary she proves—a thorn
Intestine, far within defensive arms
A cleaving mischief, in his way to virtue
Adverse and turbulent; or by her charms
Draws him awry, enslaved
With dotage, and his sense depraved
To folly and shameful deeds, which ruin ends.
What pilot so expert but needs must wreck,
Embarked with such a steers-mate at the helm?
Favoured of Heaven who finds
One virtuous, rarely found,
That in domestic good combines!
Happy that house! his way to peace is smooth:
But virtue which breaks through all opposition,
And all temptation can remove,
Most shines and most is acceptable above.
Therefore God's universal law
Gave to the man despotic power
Over his female in due awe,
Nor from that right to part an hour,
Smile she or lour:
So shall he least confusion draw
On his whole life, not swayed

By female usurpation, nor dismayed.
But had we best retire? I see a storm.
Sams. Fair days have oft contracted wind and rain.
Chor. But this another kind of tempest brings.
Sams. Be less abstruse; my riddling days are past.
Chor. Look now for no enchanting voice, nor fear
The bait of honeyed words; a rougher tongue
Draws hitherward; I know him by his stride,
The giant Harapha of Gath, his look
Haughty, as is his pile high-built and proud.
Comes he in peace? What wind hath blown him hither
I less conjecture than when first I saw
The sumptuous Dalila floating this way:
His habit carries peace, his brow defiance.
Sams. Or peace or not, alike to me he comes.
Chor. His fraught we soon shall know: he now arrives.
Har. I come not, Samson, to condole thy chance,
As these perhaps, yet wish it had not been,
Though for no friendly intent. I am of Gath;
Men call me Harapha, of stock renowned
As Og, or Anak, and the Emims old
That Kiriathaim held. Thou know'st me now,
If thou at all art known. Much I have heard
Of thy prodigious might and feats performed,
Incredible to me, in this displeased,
That I was never present on the place
Of those encounters, where we might have tried
Each other's force in camp or listed field;
And now am come to see of whom such noise
Hath walked about, and each limb to survey,
If thy appearance answer loud report.
Sams. The way to know were not to see, but taste.
Har. Dost thou already single me? I thought
Gyves and the mill had tamed thee. O that fortune

Had brought me to the field where thou art famed
To have wrought such wonders with an ass's jaw!
I should have forced thee soon with other arms,
Or left thy carcass where the ass lay thrown;
So had the glory of prowess been recovered
To Palestine, won by a Philistine
From the unforeskinned race, of whom thou bear'st
The highest name for valiant acts. That honour,
Certain to have won by mortal duel from thee,
I lose, prevented by thy eyes put out.
Sams. Boast not of what thou would'st have done, but do
What then thou would'st; thou seest it in thy hand.
Har. To combat with a blind man I disdain,
And thou hast need much washing to be touched.
Sams. Such usage as your honourable lords
Afford me, assassinated and betrayed;
Who durst not with their whole united powers
In fight withstand me single and unarmed,
Nor in the house with chamber-ambushes
Close-banded durst attack me, no, not sleeping,
Till they had hired a woman with their gold,
Breaking her marriage-faith, to circumvent me.
Therefore, without feign'd shifts, let be assigned
Some narrow place enclosed, where sight may give thee,
Or rather flight, no great advantage on me;
Then put on all thy gorgeous arms, thy helmet
And brigandine of brass, thy broad habergeon,
Vant-brace and greaves and gauntlet; add thy spear,
A weaver's beam, and seven-times-folded shield:
I only with an oaken staff will meet thee,
And raise such outcries on thy clattered iron,
Which long shall not withhold me from thy head,
That in a little time, while breath remains thee,
Thou oft shalt wish thyself at Gath, to boast
Again in safety what thou would'st have done

To Samson, but shalt never see Gath more.
Har. Thou durst not thus disparage glorious arms,
Which greatest heroes have in battle worn,
Their ornament and safety, had not spells
And black enchantments, some magician's art,
Armed thee or charmed thee strong, which thou from Heaven
Feign'dst at thy birth was given thee in thy hair,
Where strength can least abide, though all thy hairs
Were bristles ranged like those that ridge the back
Of chafed wild boars or ruffled porcupines.
Sams. I know no spells, use no forbidden arts;
My trust is in the Living God, who gave me,
At my nativity, this strength, diffused
No less through all my sinews, joints, and bones,
Than thine, while I preserved these locks unshorn,
The pledge of my unviolated vow.
For proof hereof, if Dagon be thy god,
Go to his temple, invocate his aid
With solemnest devotion, spread before him
How highly it concerns his glory now
To frustrate and dissolve these magic spells,
Which I to be the power of Israel's God
Avow, and challenge Dagon to the test,
Offering to combat thee, his champion bold,
With the utmost of his godhead seconded:
Then thou shalt see, or rather to thy sorrow
Soon feel, whose God is strongest, thine or mine.
Har. Presume not on thy God. Whate'er he be,
Thee he regards not, owns not, hath cut off
Quite from his people, and delivered up
Into thy enemies' hand; permitted them
To put out both thine eyes, and fettered send thee
Into the common prison, there to grind
Among the slaves and asses, thy comrades,
As good for nothing else, no better service

With those thy boisterous locks; no worthy match
For valour to assail, nor by the sword
Of noble warrior, so to stain his honour,
But by the barber's razor best subdued.
Sams. All these indignities, for such they are
From thine, these evils I deserve and more,
Acknowledge them from God inflicted on me
Justly, yet despair not of his final pardon,
Whose ear is ever open, and his eye
Gracious to re-admit the suppliant;
In confidence whereof I once again
Defy thee to the trial of mortal fight,
By combat to decide whose god is God,
Thine, or whom I with Israel's sons adore.
Har. Fair honour that thou dost thy God, in trusting
He will accept thee to defend his cause,
A murtherer, a revolter, and a robber!
Sams. Tongue-doughty giant, how dost thou prove me these?
Har. Is not thy nation subject to our lords?
Their magistrates confessed it when they took thee
As a league-breaker, and delivered bound
Into our hands; for hadst thou not committed
Notorious murder on those thirty men
At Ascalon, who never did thee harm,
Then, like a robber, stripp'dst them of their robes?
The Philistines, when thou hadst broke the league,
Went up with armed powers thee only seeking,
To others did no violence nor spoil.
Sams. Among the daughters of the Philistines
I chose a wife, which argued me no foe,
And in your city held my nuptial feast;
But your ill-meaning politician lords,
Under pretence of bridal friends and guests,
Appointed to await me thirty spies,
Who, threatening cruel death, constrained the bride

To wring from me, and tell to them, my secret,
That solved the riddle which I had proposed.
When I perceived all set on enmity,
As on my enemies, wherever chanced,
I used hostility, and took their spoil,
To pay my underminers in their coin.
My nation was subjected to your lords!
It was the force of conquest; force with force
Is well ejected when the conquered can.
But I, a private person, whom my country
As a league-breaker gave up bound, presumed
Single rebellion, and did hostile acts!
I was no private, but a person raised,
With strength sufficient, and command from Heaven,
To free my country. If their servile minds
Me, their deliverer sent, would not receive,
But to their masters gave me up for nought,
The unworthier they; whence to this day they serve.
I was to do my part from Heaven assigned,
And had performed it if my known offence
Had not disabled me, not all your force.
These shifts refuted, answer thy appellant,
Though by his blindness maimed for high attempts,
Who now defies thee thrice to single fight,
As a petty enterprise of small enforce.
Har. With thee, a man condemned, a slave enrolled,
Due by the law to capital punishment?
To fight with thee no man of arms will deign.
Sams. Cam'st thou for this, vain boaster, to survey me,
To descant on my strength, and give thy verdit?
Come nearer; part not hence so slight informed;
But take good heed my hand survey not thee.
Har. O Baal-zebub! can my ears unused
Hear these dishonours, and not render death?

Sams. No man withholds thee; nothing from thy hand
Fear I incurable; bring up thy van;
My heels are fettered, but my fist is free.
Har. This insolence other kind of answer fits.
Sams. Go, baffled coward, lest I run upon thee,
Though in these chains, bulk without spirit vast,
And with one buffet lay thy structure low,
Or swing thee in the air, then dash thee down,
To the hazard of thy brains and shattered sides.
Har. By Astaroth, ere long thou shalt lament
These braveries, in irons loaden on thee.
Chor. His giantship is gone somewhat crest-fallen,
Stalking with less unconscionable strides,
And lower looks, but in a sultry chafe.
Sams. I dread him not, nor all his giant brood,
Though fame divulge him father of five sons,
All of gigantic size, Goliah chief.
Chor. He will directly to the lords, I fear,
And with malicious counsel stir them up
Some way or other yet further to afflict thee.
Sams. He must allege some cause, and offered fight
Will not dare mention, lest a question rise
Whether he durst accept the offer or not;
And that he durst not plain enough appeared.
Much more affliction than already felt
They cannot well impose, nor I sustain,
If they intend advantage of my labours,
The work of many hands, which earns my keeping,
With no small profit daily to my owners.
But come what will; my deadliest foe will prove
My speediest friend, by death to rid me hence;
The worst that he can give to me the best.
Yet so it may fall out, because their end
Is hate, not help to me, it may with mine
Draw their own ruin who attempt the deed.

—5th Stasimon

Chor. O, how comely it is, and how reviving
To the spirits of just men long oppressed,
When God into the hands of their deliverer
Puts invincible might,
To quell the mighty of the earth, the oppressor,
The brute and boisterous force of violent men,
Hardy and industrious to support
Tyrannic power, but raging to pursue
The righteous, and all such as honour truth!
He all their ammunition
And feats of war defeats,
With plain heroic magnitude of mind
And celestial vigour armed;
Their armouries and magazines contemns,
Renders them useless, while
With winged expedition
Swift as the lightning glance he executes
His errand on the wicked, who, surprised,
Lose their defence, distracted and amazed.
But patience is more oft the exercise
Of saints, the trial of their fortitude,
Making then each his own deliverer,
And victor over all
That tyranny or fortune can inflict.
Either of these is in thy lot,
Samson, with might endued
Above the sons of men; but sight bereaved
May chance to number thee with those
Whom patience finally must crown.
This Idol's day hath been to thee no day of rest,
Labouring thy mind
More than the working day thy hands.
And yet, perhaps, more trouble is behind;
For I descry this way
Some other tending; in his hand
A sceptre or quaint staff he bears,

Comes on amain, speed in his look.
By his habit I discern him now
A public officer, and now at hand.
His message will be short and voluble.
Off. Ebrews, the prisoner Samson here I seek.
Chor. His manacles remark him; there he sits.
Off. Samson, to thee our lords thus bid me say:
This day to Dagon is a solemn feast,
With sacrifices, triumph, pomp, and games;
Thy strength they know surpassing human rate,
And now some public proof thereof require
To honour this great feast, and great assembly.
Rise, therefore, with all speed, and come along,
Where I will see thee heartened and fresh clad,
To appear as fits before the illustrious lords.
Sams. Thou know'st I am an Ebrew; therefore tell them
Our law forbids at their religious rites
My presence; for that cause I cannot come.
Off. This answer, be assured, will not content them.
Sams. Have they not sword-players, and every sort
Of gymnic artists, wrestlers, riders, runners,
Jugglers and dancers, antics, mummers, mimics,
But they must pick me out, with shackles tired,
And over-laboured at their public mill,
To make them sport with blind activity?
Do they not seek occasion of new quarrels,
On my refusal, to distress me more,
Or make a game of my calamities?
Return the way thou cam'st; I will not come.
Off. Regard thyself; this will offend them highly.
Sams. Myself! my conscience, and internal peace.
Can they think me so broken, so debased
With corporal servitude, that my mind ever
Will condescend to such absurd commands?
Although their drudge, to be their fool or jester,

And, in my midst of sorrow and heart-grief,
To show them feats, and play before their god—
The worst of all indignities, yet on me
Joined with extreme contempt! I will not come.
Off. My message was imposed on me with speed,
Brooks no delay: is this thy resolution?
Sams. So take it with what speed thy message needs.
Off. I am sorry what this stoutness will produce.
Sams. Perhaps thou shalt have cause to sorrow indeed.
Chor. Consider, Samson; matters now are strained
Up to the highth, whether to hold or break.
He's gone, and who knows how he may report
Thy words by adding fuel to the flame?
Expect another message, more imperious,
More lordly thundering than thou well wilt bear.
Sams. Shall I abuse this consecrated gift
Of strength, again returning with my hair
After my great transgression—so requite
Favour renewed, and add a greater sin
By prostituting holy things to idols,
A Nazarite, in place abominable,
Vaunting my strength in honour to their Dagon?
Besides how vile, contemptible, ridiculous,
What act more execrably unclean, profane?
Chor. Yet with this strength thou serv'st the Philistines,
Idolatrous, uncircumcised, unclean.
Sams. Not in their idol-worship, but by labour
Honest and lawful to deserve my food
Of those who have me in their civil power.
Chor. Where the heart joins not, outward acts defile not.
Sams. Where outward force constrains, the sentence holds:

But who constrains me to the temple of Dagon,
Not dragging? The Philistian lords command:
Commands are no constraints. If I obey them,
I do it freely, venturing to displease
God for the fear of man, and man prefer,
Set God behind; which, in his jealousy,
Shall never, unrepented, find forgiveness.
Yet that he may dispense with me, or thee,
Present in temples at idolatrous rites
For some important cause, thou need'st not doubt.

Chor. How thou wilt here come off surmounts my reach.

Sams. Be of good courage; I begin to feel
Some rousing motions in me, which dispose
To something extraordinary my thoughts.
I with this messenger will go along—
Nothing to do, be sure, that may dishonour
Our Law, or stain my vow of Nazarite.
If there be aught of presage in the mind,
This day will be remarkable in my life
By some great act, or of my days the last.

Chor. In time thou hast resolved: the man returns.

Off. Samson, this second message from our lords
To thee I am bid say: Art thou our slave,
Our captive, at the public mill our drudge,
And dar'st thou, at our sending and command,
Dispute thy coming? Come without delay;
Or we shall find such engines to assail
And hamper thee, as thou shalt come of force,
Though thou wert firmlier fastened than a rock.

Sams. I could be well content to try their art,
Which to no few of them would prove pernicious;
Yet, knowing their advantages too many,
Because they shall not trail me through their streets
Like a wild beast, I am content to go.

Masters' commands come with a power resistless
To such as owe them absolute subjection ;
And for a life who will not change his purpose ?
(So mutable are all the ways of men !)
Yet this be sure, in nothing to comply
Scandalous or forbidden in our Law.
Off. I praise thy resolution. Doff these links :
By this compliance thou wilt win the lords
To favour, and perhaps to set thee free.
Sams. Brethren, farewell. Your company along
I will not wish, lest it perhaps offend them
To see me girt with friends ; and how the sight
Of me, as of a common enemy,
So dreaded once, may now exasperate them
I know not. Lords are lordliest in their wine ;
And the well-feasted priest then soonest fired
With zeal, if aught religion seem concerned ;
No less the people, on their holy-days,
Impetuous, insolent, unquenchable.
Happen what may, of me expect to hear
Nothing dishonourable, impure, unworthy
Our God, our Law, my nation, or myself ;
The last of me or no I cannot warrant.
Chor. Go, and the Holy One
Of Israel be thy guide
To what may serve his glory best, and spread his name
Great among the Heathen round ;
Send thee the Angel of thy birth, to stand
Fast by thy side, who from thy father's field
Rode up in flames after his message told
Of thy conception, and be now a shield
Of fire ; that Spirit that first rushed on thee
In the camp of Dan,
Be efficacious in thee now at need !
For never was from Heaven imparted
Measure of strength so great to mortal seed,

As in thy wondrous actions hath been seen.
But wherefore comes old Manoa in such haste
With youthful steps? Much livelier than erewhile
He seems: supposing here to find his son,
Or of him bringing to us some glad news?

Man. Peace with you, brethren! My inducement hither
Was not at present here to find my son,
By order of the lords new parted hence
To come and play before them at their feast.
I heard all as I came; the city rings,
And numbers thither flock: I had no will,
Lest I should see him forced to things unseemly.
But that which moved my coming now was chiefly
To give ye part with me what hope I have
With good success to work his liberty.

Chor. That hope would much rejoice us to partake
With thee. Say, reverend sire; we thirst to hear.

Man. I have attempted, one by one, the lords,
Either at home, or through the high street passing,
With supplication prone and father's tears,
To accept of ransom for my son, their prisoner.
Some much averse I found, and wondrous harsh,
Contemptuous, proud, set on revenge and spite;
That part most reverenced Dagon and his priests:
Others more moderate seeming, but their aim
Private reward, for which both God and State
They easily would set to sale: a third
More generous far and civil, who confessed
They had enough revenged, having reduced
Their foe to misery beneath their fears;
The rest was magnanimity to remit,
If some convenient ransom were proposed.
What noise or shout was that? It tore the sky.

Chor. Doubtless the people shouting to behold
Their once great dread, captive and blind before them,

Or at some proof of strength before them shown.
Man. His ransom, if my whole inheritance
May compass it, shall willingly be paid
And numbered down. Much rather I shall choose
To live the poorest in my tribe, than richest
And he in that calamitous prison left.
No, I am fixed not to part hence without him.
For his redemption all my patrimony,
If need be, I am ready to forgo
And quit. Not wanting him, I shall want nothing.
Chor. Fathers are wont to lay up for their sons;
Thou for thy son art bent to lay out all:
Sons wont to nurse their parents in old age;
Thou in old age car'st how to nurse thy son,
Made older than thy age through eye-sight lost.
Man. It shall be my delight to tend his eyes,
And view him sitting in his house, ennobled
With all those high exploits by him achieved,
And on his shoulders waving down those locks
That of a nation armed the strength contained.
And I persuade me God hath not permitted
His strength again to grow up with his hair
Garrisoned round about him like a camp
Of faithful soldiery, were not his purpose
To use him further yet in some great service—
Not to sit idle with so great a gift
Useless, and thence ridiculous, about him.
And, since his strength with eye-sight was not lost,
God will restore him eye-sight to his strength.
Chor. Thy hopes are not ill founded, nor seem vain,
Of his delivery, and thy joy thereon
Conceived, agreeable to a father's love;
In both which we, as next, participate.
Man. I know your friendly minds, and . . . O, what noise!

Mercy of Heaven! what hideous noise was that?
Horribly loud, unlike the former shout.
Chor. Noise call you it, or universal groan,
As if the whole inhabitation perished?
Blood, death, and deathful deeds, are in that noise,
Ruin, destruction at the utmost point.
Man. Of ruin indeed methought I heard the noise.
Oh! it continues; they have slain my son.
Chor. Thy son is rather slaying them: that outcry
From slaughter of one foe could not ascend.
Man. Some dismal accident it needs must be.
What shall we do—stay here, or run and see?
Chor. Best keep together here, lest, running thither,
We unawares run into danger's mouth.
This evil on the Philistines is fallen:
From whom could else a general cry be heard?
The sufferers, then, will scarce molest us here;
From other hands we need not much to fear.
What if, his eye-sight (for to Israel's God
Nothing is hard) by miracle restored,
He now be dealing dole among his foes,
And over heaps of slaughtered walk his way?
Man. That were a joy presumptuous to be thought.
Chor. Yet God hath wrought things as incredible
For his people of old; what hinders now?
Man. He can, I know, but doubt to think he will;
Yet hope would fain subscribe, and tempts belief.
A little stay will bring some notice hither.
Chor. Of good or bad so great, of bad the sooner;
For evil news rides post, while good news baits.
And to our wish I see one hither speeding—
An Ebrew, as I guess, and of our tribe.
Messenger. O, whither shall I run, or which way fly
The sight of this so horrid spectacle,
Which erst my eyes beheld, and yet behold?

For dire imagination still pursues me.
But providence or instinct of nature seems,
Or reason, though disturbed and scarce consulted,
To have guided me aright, I know not how,
To thee first, reverend Manoa, and to these
My countrymen, whom here I knew remaining,
As at some distance from the place of horror,
So in the sad event too much concerned.
Man. The accident was loud, and here before thee
With rueful cry; yet what it was we hear not.
No preface needs; thou seest we long to know.
Mess. It would burst forth; but I recover breath,
And sense distract, to know well what I utter.
Man. Tell us the sum; the circumstance defer.
Mess. Gaza yet stands; but all her sons are fallen,
All in a moment overwhelmed and fallen.
Man. Sad! but thou know'st to Israelites not saddest
The desolation of a hostile city.
Mess. Feed on that first; there may in grief be surfeit.
Man. Relate by whom.
Mess. By Samson.
Man. That still lessens
The sorrow, and converts it nigh to joy.
Mess. Ah! Manoa, I refrain too suddenly
To utter what will come at last too soon,
Lest evil tidings, with too rude irruption
Hitting thy aged ear, should pierce too deep.
Man. Suspense in news is torture; speak them out.
Mess. Then take the worst in brief: Samson is dead.
Man. The worst indeed! O, all my hope's defeated
To free him hence! but Death, who sets all free,
Hath paid his ransom now and full discharge.
What windy joy this day had I conceived,
Hopeful of his delivery, which now proves

Abortive as the first-born bloom of spring
Nipt with the lagging rear of winter's frost!
Yet, ere I give the reins to grief, say first
How died he; death to life is crown or shame.
All by him fell, thou say'st; by whom fell he?
What glorious hand gave Samson his death's wound?
Mess. Unwounded of his enemies he fell.
Man. Wearied with slaughter, then, or how? explain.
Mess. By his own hands.
Man. Self-violence! What cause
Brought him so soon at variance with himself
Among his foes?
Mess. Inevitable cause—
At once both to destroy and be destroyed.
The edifice, where all were met to see him,
Upon their heads and on his own he pulled.
Man. O lastly over-strong against thyself!
A dreadful way thou took'st to thy revenge.
More than enough we know; but, while things yet
Are in confusion, give us, if thou canst,
Eye-witness of what first or last was done,
Relation more particular and distinct.
Mess. Occasions drew me early to this city;
And, as the gates I entered with sun-rise,
The morning trumpets festival proclaimed
Through each high street. Little I had dispatched,
When all abroad was rumoured that this day
Samson should be brought forth, to show the people
Proof of his mighty strength in feats and games.
I sorrowed at his captive state, but minded
Not to be absent at that spectacle.
The building was a spacious theatre,
Half round on two main pillars vaulted high,
With seats where all the lords, and each degree
Of sort, might sit in order to behold;
The other side was open, where the throng

On banks and scaffolds under sky might stand:
I among these aloof obscurely stood.
The feast and noon grew high, and sacrifice
Had filled their hearts with mirth, high cheer, and wine,
When to their sports they turned. Immediately
Was Samson as a public servant brought,
In their state livery clad: before him pipes
And timbrels; on each side went armed guards;
Both horse and foot before him and behind,
Archers and slingers, cataphracts and spears.
At sight of him the people with a shout
Rifted the air, clamouring their god with praise,
Who had made their dreadful enemy their thrall.
He patient, but undaunted, where they led him,
Came to the place; and what was set before him,
Which without help of eye might be assayed,
To heave, pull, draw, or break, he still performed
All with incredible, stupendious force,
None daring to appear antagonist.
At length, for intermission sake, they led him
Between the pillars; he his guide requested
(For so from such as nearer stood we heard),
As over-tired, to let him lean a while
With both his arms on those two massy pillars,
That to the arched roof gave main support.
He unsuspicious led him; which when Samson
Felt in his arms, with head a while inclined,
And eyes fast fixed, he stood, as one who prayed,
Or some great matter in his mind revolved:
At last, with head erect, thus cried aloud:—
"Hitherto, Lords, what your commands imposed
I have performed, as reason was, obeying,
Not without wonder or delight beheld;
Now, of my own accord, such other trial
I mean to show you of my strength yet greater
As with amaze shall strike all who behold."

This uttered, straining all his nerves, he bowed;
As with the force of winds and waters pent
When mountains tremble, those two massy pillars
With horrible convulsion to and fro
He tugged, he shook, till down they came, and drew
The whole roof after them with burst of thunder
Upon the heads of all who sat beneath,
Lords, ladies, captains, counsellors, or priests,
Their choice nobility and flower, not only
Of this, but each Philistian city round,
Met from all parts to solemnize this feast.
Samson, with these immixed, inevitably
Pulled down the same destruction on himself;
The vulgar only scaped, who stood without.
Chor. O dearly bought revenge, yet glorious!
Living or dying thou hast fulfilled
The work for which thou wast foretold
To Israel, and now liest victorious
Among thy slain self-killed;
Not willingly, but tangled in the fold
Of dire Necessity, whose law in death conjoined
Thee with thy slaughtered foes, in number more
Than all thy life had slain before.
Semichor. While their hearts were jocund and sublime,
Drunk with idolatry, drunk with wine
And fat regorged of bulls and goats,
Chaunting their idol, and preferring
Before our living Dread, who dwells
In Silo, his bright sanctuary,
Among them he a spirit of phrenzy sent,
Who hurt their minds,
And urged them on with mad desire
To call in haste for their destroyer.
They, only set on sport and play,
Unweetingly importuned

Their own destruction to come speedy upon them.
So fond are mortal men,
Fallen into wrath divine,
As their own ruin on themselves to invite,
Insensate left, or to sense reprobate,
And with blindness internal struck.
Semichor. But he, though blind of sight,
Despised, and thought extinguished quite,
With inward eyes illuminated,
His fiery virtue roused
From under ashes into sudden flame,
And as an evening dragon came,
Assailant on the perched roosts
And nests in order ranged
Of tame villatic fowl, but as an eagle
His cloudless thunder bolted on their heads.
So Virtue, given for lost,
Depressed and overthrown, as seemed,
Like that self-begotten bird,
In the Arabian woods embost,
That no second knows nor third,
And lay erewhile a holocaust,
From out her ashy womb now teemed,
Revives, reflourishes, then vigorous most
When most unactive deemed;
And, though her body die, her fame survives,
A secular bird, ages of lives.
Man. Come, come; no time for lamentation now,
Nor much more cause. Samson hath quit himself
Like Samson, and heroicly hath finished
A life heroic, on his enemies
Fully revenged—hath left them years of mourning
And lamentation to the sons of Caphtor
Through all Philistian bounds; to Israel
Honour hath left and freedom, let but them
Find courage to lay hold on this occasion;

To himself and father's house eternal fame;
And, which is best and happiest yet, all this
With God not parted from him, as was feared,
But favouring and assisting to the end.
Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail
Or knock the breast; no weakness, no contempt,
Dispraise, or blame; nothing but well and fair,
And what may quiet us in a death so noble.
Let us go find the body where it lies
Soaked in his enemies' blood, and from the stream
With lavers pure, and cleansing herbs, wash off
The clotted gore. I, with what speed the while
(Gaza is not in plight to say us nay),
Will send for all my kindred, all my friends,
To fetch him hence, and solemnly attend,
With silent obsequy and funeral train,
Home to his father's house. There will I build him
A monument, and plant it round with shade
Of laurel ever green and branching palm,
With all his trophies hung, and acts enrolled
In copious legend, or sweet lyric song.
Thither shall all the valiant youth resort,
And from his memory inflame their breasts
To matchless valour and adventures high;
The virgins also shall, on feastful days,
Visit his tomb with flowers, only bewailing
His lot unfortunate in nuptial choice,
From whence captivity and loss of eyes.

Chor. All is best, though we oft doubt
What the unsearchable dispose
Of Highest Wisdom brings about,
And ever best found in the close.
Oft He seems to hide his face,
But unexpectedly returns,
And to his faithful champion hath in place
Bore witness gloriously; whence Gaza mourns,

And all that band them to resist
His uncontrollable intent.
His servants He, with new acquist
Of true experience from this great event,
With peace and consolation hath dismissed,
And calm of mind, all passion spent.

THE END.

ESSAY ON MILTON'S
ENGLISH AND VERSIFICATION.

ESSAY ON MILTON'S ENGLISH AND VERSIFICATION.

THE following remarks relate to Milton's Poetry only, any references to his Prose being but incidental. The remarks may arrange themselves under five heads :—

I. Milton's Vocabulary.
II. Spelling and Pronunciation.
III. Peculiarities of Grammatical Inflection.
IV. Syntax and Idiom.
V. Milton's Versification, and his Place in the History of English Verse.

I. MILTON'S VOCABULARY.

It has been computed that Milton's total vocabulary in his poetry, to the exclusion of his prose-writings, consists of about 8000 words. In this computation all separate parts of speech are counted as distinct words, but inflections of any one part of speech are not so counted. By a similar computation it is found that Shakespeare's vocabulary in his Plays and Poems consists of about 15,000 words. The greater extent of Shakespeare's poetical vocabulary, as compared with Milton's, may be accounted for partly by the greater bulk of the poetical matter from which the vocabulary is gathered; but it is, doubtless, owing in part also to the greater multifariousness of that aggregate of *things* and *notions* amid which Shakespeare's imagination moved for the purposes of his dramas.

An interesting question with respect to any English writer the extent of whose total vocabulary may have been ascertained is the question what proportion of that vocabulary consists of words of the old native English or "Anglo-

Saxon" stock, and what of words derived from the Latin or other non-Saxon sources that have contributed to our matured and composite English. "In the vocabulary of the English Bible," says Mr. Marsh in his *Lectures on the English Language*, "sixty per cent are native; in that of Shakespeare the proportion is very nearly the same; while of the stock of words employed in the poetical works of Milton less than thirty-three per cent are Anglo-Saxon." In other words, while about two-fifths of Shakespeare's vocabulary, or about 6000 words out of the total 15,000 which he uses, are of non-Saxon derivation, the non-Saxon element in Milton's poetical vocabulary amounts to about two-thirds, or to about 5300 words out of the total 8000. Milton's draught upon the Latin and other so-called "foreign" constituents of our speech for the purposes of his poetry would thus appear to have been relatively, but not absolutely, larger than Shakespeare's. But the proportions of the "Saxon" and the "non-Saxon" elements in a writer's total vocabulary by no means indicate the proportions of the same elements in his habitual style. The vocabulary gives the words as lying in the writer's cabinet for use; but in actual speech or writing some words are in such constant demand that they are continually being taken out of the cabinet and put back again, while others are not called out more than once or twice in a year, or in a whole literary lifetime. In order, therefore, to ascertain the proportion of Teutonic and non-Teutonic in a writer's habitual style, a very different plan must be adopted from that of merely counting the Teutonic and non-Teutonic words in his vocabulary. Specimens of different length must be taken from his text; and every word in these specimens must be counted, not once only, but every time that it occurs. Of various critics who have applied this method to the styles of the more important English writers, no one has taken greater pains than Mr. Marsh; and the result of his investigations has been to set aside some previous conceptions on the subject. He finds, for example, that even in the last century, when the style of our writers was highly Latinized, the proportion of Saxon to non-Saxon words in any extensive and characteristic passage from the writings of the best authors very rarely falls beneath 70 per cent,—Swift, in one Essay, falling as low as 68 per cent, but usually ranging higher; and Johnson's proportion

being 72 per cent, Gibbon's 70 per cent, and Hume's 73 per cent. He finds, moreover, that, in spite of the additions to our Dictionary since that time, mainly of words from non-Teutonic sources, the proportion of Teutonic in the style of our best-known writers of the present century has risen rather than fallen. Macaulay he rates at 75 per cent, and other recent prose-writers at about the same, while from examinations of long passages in Tennyson, Browning, and Longfellow, it actually appears that the proportion of Saxon in our poetry is hardly less at this day than it was in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries or even earlier. Thus Tennyson's *Lotus Eaters* yields 87 per cent of Saxon, and his *In Memoriam* 89 per cent; Browning's figure is 84 per cent, and Longfellow's 87 per cent; while Spenser, from the examination of a Canto, is rated at 86 per cent, Shakespeare at from 88 to 91 per cent, and even Chaucer only once reaches 93 per cent, and is usually nearer 89 or 90. Milton's place in the list is assigned from these computations as follows:—

L'Allegro	90 per cent.
Il Penseroso. . . .	83 per cent.
Paradise Lost, Book VI. .	80 per cent.

From examinations of various passages in *Paradise Lost*, I am inclined to believe that Mr. Marsh's estimate of 80 per cent of Saxon words will be found about right for the whole poem, if, with him, we always omit the proper names in counting. In various passages of some length, counting the proper names as well, I have found the average to come out at about 75 per cent. But, just as the percentage of Saxon words in *Paradise Lost* is less than in *Il Penseroso* and much less than in *L'Allegro*, so within *Paradise Lost* itself the rate varies according to the poet's mood and the nature of his matter at particular moments. Passages may be hit on, or may be selected,—and not those only which abound in proper names,—where the percentage of Saxon falls as low as 70 or lower. The principle, in short, is that it depends on the *thought* of a writer in any particular passage, on the class of *things* and *notions* with which he is there concerning himself, whether the expression shall show more or less of the Saxon.

There is one way in which a perfect verbal index to a

writer might be made a most important key to his mind. It might be noted not only that a word did occur, but also *how many times* it occurred; and from the relative degrees of frequency thus noted in the occurrence of words instructive inferences might be drawn. The frequency or infrequency of a word in any writer depends on a composition of causes. Some objects and notions are, in their nature, so much nearer or easier than others to the human apprehension in general that the words denoting them, or associated with them, may fairly be expected to occur in *any* writer with the corresponding greater degree of frequency. All men, for example, think more frequently of *fire* than of the *zodiac*. Again, the constitutional bent of an individual writer, the prevalent direction of his thoughts, and the nature of his theme or purpose at any particular time, occasion a more than average frequency of recourse to certain words and classes of words. For example, one would expect the words, *God*, *grandeur*, *eternity*, and the like, more frequently in the mouths and the writings of some men than of others, for inherent constitutional reasons; such words as *lesion*, *fracture*, *tissue*, *gas*, *pressure*, *piston*, *invoice*, *shares*, *noun*, *diphthong*, more frequently in the thoughts, and therefore in the talk, of certain classes of persons than of others, for mere reasons of profession or habitual occupation; and, for reasons which may be as easily discerned, the words *angels* and *heaven* oftener in *Paradise Lost* than in most other poems. In the third place, the mere *form* of a particular work may be such as to preclude, or at least discourage, the use in it of words perfectly well-known to the writer and used by him on other occasions. There are words, for example, which, from their pronunciation or structure, as well as from their intellectual associations, will not so readily be brought into verse as into prose. Lastly, a word which is common now may have been far less common at a former period in the history of the language, so that, though it is occasionally to be found in a writer of that period, it is not found so often as we should expect from the nature of its meaning.

A thorough application of these remarks to the vocabularies of Shakespeare and Milton would yield curious results. As respects Milton, an indication or two must here suffice: —Just as, from the mere statement that Milton's poetical

vocabulary consists of but about 8000 words, it is evident that thousands of words, not only in our present English Dictionary, but even in the English Dictionary of his day, were never used by him even once, so it may be expected that, of the words which he did use, there were very many which he used only once. What are called the ἁπαξ λεγομενα of any writer, indeed,—viz. the words used by him only once in the whole course of his writings,—will be found on examination greatly more numerous than might have been supposed beforehand. Mr. Marsh quotes the following as instances in Shakespeare:—*abrupt*, *ambiguous*, *artless*, *congratulate*, *improbable*, *improper*, *improve*, *impure*, *inconvenient*, *incredible*. But it is only necessary to run the finger down the columns of the Concordance to Shakespeare to add hundreds, or perhaps thousands, of other words to the list—of which scores at least would be as remarkable as any of the ten cited. Milton's ἁπαξ λεγομενα are probably even more numerous proportionally than Shakespeare's. Of the ten Shakespearian words mentioned, three are also ἁπαξ λεγομενα in Milton's poetry,—to wit *abrupt*, *congratulate* (in the form *congratulant*), and *inconvenient;* four occur three or four times each,—to wit *ambiguous*, *improve*, *impure*, and *incredible;* and three do not occur even once,—to wit *artless*, *improbable*, and *improper*. That, however, is but a slight observation, and hardly touches the real substance of the question. Under the single letter *A* I find, by the Concordances, at least 118 words that occur only once in all Milton's poems. Among these are the words *ability*, *abrupt*, *absurd*, *accessible*, *activity*, *actual*, *advantageous*, *advocate*, *affection*, *afternoon*, *agent*, *agreeable*, *allow*, *American*, *applaud*, *appointment*, *artifice*, *astronomer*, and *avarice*. There are places in the vocabulary where the proportion of such words is even greater. Thus, of about 375 words beginning with the letters *Un* which I find in Todd's Index, I have counted no fewer than 241 as occurring only once,—the reason being that so many of those words are negative adjectives. *Unattempted*, *unbecoming*, *unbroken*, *unclouded*, *undesirable*, *uneven*, *ungraceful*, *unhurt*, *unkindness*, *unsafe*, *unsound*, *unsteady*, *unsuccessful*, and *unwilling*, are a few of such negatives only once used in Milton's poems. Altogether, I should not be surprised if between 2000 and 3000 of the 8000 words of Milton's total poetical vocabulary were found to be ἁπαξ λεγομενα.

Passing from words used only once to those used *twice*, *thrice*, or *seldom*, we might have in this class also a list of hundreds. Hence, again, we might rise to the class of *occasionally-used* words; hence again to words used *pretty frequently*; and hence again to those occurring *very frequently*. In this last class I have noted such words as these:—*Adam*, *air*, *all*, *alone*, *age*, *angel*, *arms*, *battle*, *beam*, *beast*, *beauty*, *better*, *birth*, *black*, *bliss*, *bold*, *bright*, *bring*, *call*, *care*, *cause*, *celestial*, *change*, *cloud*, *come*, *command*, *create*, *darkness*, *day*, *death*, *deep*, *delight*, *divine*, *doubt*, *dread*, *earth*, *end*, *enemy*, *equal*, *eternal*, *eye*, *fair*, *faith*, *fall*, *false*, *far*, *fate*, *father*, *fear*, *field*, *fierce*, *find*, *fire*, *firm*, *first*, *flower*, *foe*, *force*, *foul*, *free*, *fruit*, *full*, *garden*, *gentle*, *give*, *glory*, *glorious*, *go*, *God*, *gold*, *good*, *grace*, *great*, *green*, *grove*, *ground*, *hand*, *happy*, *hard*, *head*, *hate*, *heart*, *Heaven*, *Hell*, *help*, *high*, *hill*, *holy*, *honour*, *hope*, *host*, *hour*, *human*, *ill*, *immortal*, *joy*, *just*, *King*, *know*, *knowledge*, *land*, *large*, *last*, *law*, *lead*, *life*, *light*, *long*, *Lord*, *lost*, *loud*, *love*, *low*, *make*, *man*, *might*, *mild*, *mind*, *moon*, *morn*, *mortal*, *move*, *mount* and *mountain*, *name*, *nature*, *new*, *night*, *old*, *pain*, *Paradise*, *part*, *past*, *peace*, *place*, *power*, *praise*, *pride*, *pure*, *race*, *reason*, *reign*, *rest*, *right*, *rise*, *sacred*, *sad*, *Satan*, *say*, *sea*, *seat*, *see*, *seem*, *sense*, *serpent*, *serve*, *shame*, *side*, *sin*, *sing*, *sit*, *soft*, *son*, *song*, *sky*, *sleep*, *solemn*, *sorrow*, *soul*, *sound*, *speak*, *spirit*, *stand*, *star*, *state*, *strength*, *sun*, *sure*, *sweet*, *thing*, *think*, *thought*, *throne*, *time*, *tree*, *true*, *truth*, *vain*, *virtue*, *voice*, *walk*, *war*, *water*, *way*, *well*, *wide*, *wild*, *will*, *wind*, *wing*, *wise*, *woe*, *woman*, *wonder*, *wood*, *word*, *work*, *world*. Not only some of the verbs but also some of the nouns and adjectives in this list occur so very often (*Earth*, *Heaven*, *God*, *man*, *high*, *free*, *good*, *fair*, *glory*, *happy*, *large*, *love*, *hard*, *soft*, *new*, *old*, *thing*, *eye*, and *death*, are examples) that they may be registered as next in frequency to those mere particles and auxiliaries—*and*, *the*, *but*, *not*, *to*, *for*, *from*, *we*, *our*, *their*, *that*, *which*, *could*, *did*, *will*, *is*, *are*, *were*, *though*, *on*, *ever*, etc. etc.—which are scattered innumerably over the pages of every writer.

One question more respecting Milton's vocabulary in his poems. Is any proportion of it obsolete? On the whole, whether from the judiciousness with which Milton chose words that had a strong force of vitality in them, or from the power of such a writer to confer future popularity on the

words adopted by him, the number of words in Milton's poems that are now obsolete, or even archaic, is singularly small. Mr. Marsh's estimate on this subject is that, while about five or six hundred of Shakespeare's words have gone out of currency or changed their meaning, there are not more than a hundred of Milton's words in his poetry which are not as familiar at this day as in that of the poet himself. This I believe to be a substantially correct estimate; for, though I have noted upwards of 150 words in Milton's poems that are more or less out of common use now, a good many of these have been used by recent poets, and there is no poet of the present day who would not use some of the others if they occurred to him, or would not feel himself at liberty to invent similarly unusual words for himself. The indisputably obsolete words of the list are few; and of these some seem to have been inventions of Milton's ear for the moment, not intended to last.

II. SPELLING AND PRONUNCIATION.

Milton's spelling, whether by his own hand in his manuscripts, or through his printers in the original editions of his poems, was very much the spelling of his day. Accordingly, one of its most marked characteristics was variability or want of uniformity. There was no notion of a uniformity of English spelling in those days. Within a certain range, every author or printer might spell as he liked,—the choice between a longer and a shorter form of spelling often determined in the case of a printer by the number of types he could get in at the end of a line; and so author differed from author, printer from printer, authors from printers,—nay, the same author or printer from himself yesterday or two minutes ago. Further (and this is especially important), it is found, on examination, that this variability or want of uniformity in the spelling of English manuscripts and books in Milton's time affects chiefly and precisely those spellings that differ from ours, and that, *in almost every such case, our present spelling was actually used as one of the variations, and had its chance in the competition.* A few examples will make this clearer:—(1) *Faire*, *vaine*, *soone*, *urne*, *doe*, *keepe*, *tooke*, *crowne*, *deepe*, *ruine*, *forlorne*, *goddesse*, with *armes*,

aires, dayes, are a group of words illustrating the frequency of the silent *e* final in the original editions of Milton, as in other old English books, in cases where we have now dropt it. Well, without much search, I find, in the MSS. and printed editions of Milton, these alternatives,—*fair, vain, soon, urn, do, keep, took, crown, deep, ruïn, forlorn, goddess and goddes, arms, airs, days*. The word *urn* occurs but once in Milton's poetry (*Lycid.* 20); and in the edition of 1645 it is printed *urn*, while Milton's MS. gives *urne*. (2) Take next a group of words exemplifying the omission of the final *e* where we insert it, viz. :—*fals, vers, els, leavs, tast, hast*. For these forms I find easily our present *false, verse, else, leaves, taste, haste*. The word *taste* may be prosecuted more particularly. In the original edition of *Paradise Lost* the second line of the poem is distinctly printed, "Of that Forbidden Tree, whose mortal tast." So in *Sonnet* XX., as first printed in 1673, "Of Attic tast, with wine." So also twice in the plural, "Of all tasts else to please thir appetite";—*P. L.*, VII. 49, and "With *Sion's* songs, to all true tasts excelling." —*P. R.*, IV. 347. Hence some have argued that the word *taste* in Milton's time must have been pronounced *tast*, like *last* or *past*. But that the inference was hasty and illegitimate would have been seen if the word had been traced through other passages. Four times, as we have seen, it is *tast* or *tasts*; but it occurs sixty-two times in all in the poetry, as noun or verb, and in fifty-eight of these cases with our ordinary spelling *taste*. (3) In what may be called the *y* and *ie* group there is likewise instability; for I find *starry* as well as *starrie, majesty* as well as *majestie*, and our present forms *guilty, happy, fly, cry, descry*, as well as *guiltie, happie, flie, crie, descrie*. Thus, I have traced every occurrence of *guilty* in the poems, with this result: in the 1645 edition of the Minor Poems it occurs but once, and then in our present form *guilty*; in *Paradise Lost* it occurs five times, and is always spelt *guiltie* in the first edition; in the second or 1673 edition of the Minor Poems it occurs twice, and each time with a relapse into the form *guilty*. So, on the other hand, while we have *ayr, voyce, tyme, tyger, lye, poyson, ycie*, and *jubily*, these words come up also in their more familiar forms as *air, voice, time, tiger, lie, poison, ice*, and *jubilee*. The word *jubilee* occurs three times, once as *jubily* (*Sol. Mus.* 9), once as *jubilee* (*P. L.*, III. 348), and once as *jubilie*

(*P. L.*, VI. 884). (4) In the first six occurrences of the conjunction *lest* in *Paradise Lost*, the spelling in the original edition is *least* (*e.g.* "least bad men should boast"); but in the next two occurrences of the word (V. 396 and 731) the spelling is *lest*, as now ("No fear lest Dinner coole," and "lest unawares we lose"); after which, in twenty-seven recurrences of the word in the rest of the poem, it is invariably again *least*. To make amends, however, the spelling is again *lest* in each of eleven occurrences of the word in *Par. Reg.* and *Sams. Ag.* Again, in forty-seven occurrences of the adjective *least* in the total body of the poems, the normal form *least* is kept forty-three times, while the form *lest* happens but four times. (5) One notes a general defect in Milton, as in other old printing, of our apostrophe marking the possessive case. He has *mans* where we should now write *man's*, *fathers* where we should now write *father's* or *fathers'*, *Joves court* for *Jove's court*, and *as far as Angels kenn*, where it is doubtful whether the meaning is *Angel's ken*, *Angels' ken*, or *Angels ken* (the verb). Occasionally, however, in Milton's original editions we do have the apostrophe: *e.g. P. L.*, I. 466 "*Gaza's* frontier bounds," *Pens.* 29 "Of woody *Ida's* inmost grove," *Com.* 232 "By slow *Meander's* margent green." In the second (or 1673) edition of the Minor Poems I find *man's work* (*Sonnet* XIX. 10), *Assembly's ears* (*Vac. Ex.* 28), and other instances of our present form. (6) For a collection of old Miltonic spellings of vowel-sounds and diphthongs, take *baume*, *spreds*, *sed* and *se'd* (for *said*), *seaven*, *freind*, *thir* (*their*), *ern*, *hearbs*, *raign*, *strein*, *neather*, *weild*, *feild*, *preist*, *dieties* (*deities*), *theefe*, *deceave*, *bin* (*been*), *heer*, *neer*, *sease*, *eev'n*, *beleive*, *extreams*, *dore*, *oke*, *woolf*, *ile*, *iland*, *spight*, *ny*, *wrauth*, *hew* (*hue*), *blew* and *blu* (*blue*). For these we find in other places, and in some cases with greater frequency, our present forms *balm*, *spreads*, *said*, *seven*, *friend*, *earn*, *herbs*, *reign*, *strain*, *neither*, *wield*, *field*, *priest*, *deities*, *thief*, *deceive*, *been*, *here*, *near*, *seize*, *even*, *believe*, *extremes*, *door*, *oak*, *wolf*, *isle*, *island*, *nigh*, *wrath*, *hue*, *blue;* nor is it possible in almost any case to see any cause, other than mere caprice, why our present spelling was departed from. Once or twice *bin* might seem to have been chosen as less emphatic than *been*, and *thir* as less emphatic than *their;* but that rule does not hold through many pages. *Virtue* and *virtuous* are, I think, nearly

always spelt *vertue* or *vertu* and *vertuous*, as was common in Milton's time; but *virtue* does occur (*e.g.* *P. R.*, II. 431, 455), and *virtual*, which occurs but twice, is both times so. He has the odd form *aries* at least once for *arise*, though the latter is normal with him. The word *rime*, though spelt so in the prose preface to *Par. Lost*, is spelt once *rhyme* in the poetry (*Lyc.* 11), and *rhime* in the only other case where it occurs there (*P. L.*, I. 16). We have *die* and *di'd* for "colour" and "coloured;" but, to make up, there is a slip once or twice into *dye* and *dy'd* for our verb of mortality. *Plowman* occurs twice, and each time in that form; but in the MS. of the *Sonnet to Cromwell* we have *plough'd*. *Bough* and *boughs* or *boughes* are normal in the text, but once at least there is *bowes*. The adjective *foul*, for "unclean," which is a frequent word, occurs in *Par. Lost* first as *fowl* (I. 33), and the very next time (I. 135) as *foul*. The word *flower* is very unstable. I find it, in the singular, in no fewer than six forms,—*flower*, *flowr*, *flowre*, *flour*, *floure*, and *flouer*; and it is about the same in the plural. Similarly we have *tower* in three forms,—*tower*, *towre*, *towr* (all three forms occurring within eight lines of each other, *P. L.*, XII. 44-52); and so with *shower*, *hour*, and other similar words. *Seize* he spells four ways,—*seize*, *sieze*, *sease*, *seise*. (7) As a promiscuous assemblage of examples of occasional consonantal spellings different from ours, take *warr*, *dinn*, *lipps*, *mortall*, *celestiall*, *faithfull*, *musicall*, *committ*, *compell*, *farewel*, *mattin*, *sollemne*, etc. On turning the leaves these are easily found also as *war*, *din*, *lips*, *mortal*, *celestial*, *faithful*, *musical*, *commit*, *compels*, *farewell*, *matin*, *solemn*, etc. So *endles*, *darknes*, *sweetnes*, etc., are found also as *endless*, *darkness*, *sweetness*, etc. (*ripenesse* in *Sonnet* III. in Milton's own MS. appearing as *ripenes* in the same when printed under his own eye); *musick*, *majestick*, etc., are found also as *music*, *majestic*, etc.; *lincked* is found also as *linked*; *sulfurous* as *sulphurous*. *Patriark* and *patriarch* are found in two consecutive pages (*P. L.*, XII. 117-151); *murtherer* is found, but also *murder*, and *murd'rous*; *chrystal* and *chrystall*, but also *crystal*; *autority*, but also *authority* and *authoritie*.

Ample proof has now been furnished, not only of the general fact that Milton's spelling, like the spelling of most of his contemporaries, was unstable and variable, but also of the more special fact that, in the cases where he varied his

spelling, it was most frequently a mere accident, a mere turn of the wrist, whether he should give us a spelling that we now think odd or the one now adopted and authorised. In fact, though we have used the phrase "Milton's spelling," it is impossible to say what Milton's spelling really was. There is an extant mass of his own manuscript, containing the drafts of a portion of his earlier English Poems. There, certainly, so far as the mass goes, we *have* Milton's own spelling. But then the spelling there differs in numberless particulars from the spelling of the same pieces when printed in 1645. The spelling in the volume of that year may be called Milton's own too, inasmuch as he had then the use of his eyesight, and it is to be taken for granted that he revised the proofs. But which is *most* Milton's spelling,—that of the MSS. so far as they go, or that of the printed volume? Farther, for all the later poetry, including *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes*, we have neither a spelling set up by the printers from Milton's own manuscript, nor a spelling passed by Milton's personal revision after the printers, but only the discordant spellings of different printers, set up from the discordant spellings of no one knows how many different amanuenses to whom a blind man had dictated, and revised of course not by the blind man himself, but only by the readers of the printing offices, or by friends reading the proofs aloud for his benefit, with perhaps a shot of correction now and then from his own mouth when his quick ear detected anything wrong. The spelling of the First Book of *Paradise Lost* in the original edition differs incessantly from that of the same Book in the preserved MS. copy in the hand of an amanuensis from which the printers set up the text. In the very first page we find *blissful seat* in the printed edition substituted for *blissfull seate* in the press-copy, *mortal* for *mortall*, *loss* for *losse*, *brook* for *brooke*, *soar* for *soare*, *pursues* for *persues*, *chiefly* for *cheifly*, *dark* for *darke*, etc.

Suppose that, in this absolute impossibility of getting at a spelling for the poems throughout that could in any sense be called Milton's own spelling, there were to be a rough vote that the spelling of the original printed editions, just as it is, might pass for Milton's. What, even with that violent solution of the difficulty, ought to be the policy in a modern edition of the poems? Apart from the interest that might

attach to an exact orthographic reprint of the original editions regarded as a bibliographical curiosity, the sole purpose it would serve would be to exhibit that very phenomenon of *variability of spelling* which we have been illustrating. But, in view of all else that we expect and require in a modern edition of Milton, would it be worth while to refabricate a collective edition of the poems expressly to exhibit the phenomenon of the variability, in Milton's case as in others, of the seventeenth century spelling,—nay, not its variability only, but its reasonless flutterings round and round our present spelling, with constant returns to it, and an evident disposition to poise upon it finally? Because Milton's original editions give us *flower*, but also five variations from it, *flowr*, *flowre*, *flour*, *floure*, and *flouer*, did he mean to tie down his readers in all time coming to the sextuple spelling rather than the single? At the utmost, would he not have asked, in the interest of the history of English orthography, that the fact that the sextuple spelling was allowed in his day should be remembered in a footnote or the like, begging posterity at the same time to fix him to one of the spellings in the text if they found reason for it, on the single condition that they should not tamper at any point with sound or meaning, vocable or metre? In short, does not common sense decide that a modern edition of Milton's Poems for general use ought to consist, like our copies of the authorised English Bible, or our standard editions of Bacon and Shakespeare, of the most authentic text from the original editions spelt in conformity with our present orthography, except in cases where an archaic form ought to be preserved for some etymological or phonetic significance which our present spelling would conceal?

Are there any peculiarities of Milton's spelling which are really significant, and ought therefore to be either (1) noted, or (2) preserved? There are, and we proceed to take account of these:—

Mee, hee, shee, wee, yee.—That Milton had an intention in spelling these pronouns sometimes with a single *e* and sometimes with a double may be inferred from the fact that, in the Errata prefixed to the first edition of *Par. Lost,* he directs the word *we* in Book II. 414 to be changed into *wee.* On turning to the passage, it is seen that the reason was that the word *we* there has to be pronounced emphatically.

But, in fact, his own texts are not consistent with this principle, and the duplicated vowel is practically needless.

Then for *than*.—Though, as far as I have observed, the original texts keep to *then*, as writings of that date generally do, it seems unnecessary to recur to a spelling so strange to our present habits,—the rather because our form *than* was used in Milton's time, and is a good old one in pre-Elizabethan English.

Hunderd and *Childern*.—Among the Errata prefixed to the first edition of *Par. Lost* is the direction "Lib. I. v. 760 for *hundreds* r. *hunderds*"; which may be taken as vouching that Milton's ear preferred the latter pronunciation. Perhaps one ought to have obliged him here, especially as in the only three other occurrences of the word in his poetry (*Arcades* 22, *Sonnet* XIII. and *Par. Reg.*, III. 287) it is *hunderd* or *hunder'd*. But *hundred* or *hundreth* is the old English form; Milton himself has *hundreda* in Latin; and people who still pronounce *hunderd* are accustomed to the spelling *hundred*. The form *childern* for *children* occurs four times in *Par. Lost*, and is worth noting; but, as we have *childrens* for *children's* in the same poem (I. 395), and *children* twice in *Comus*, once in *Par. Reg.*, and once in *Sams. Ag.*, there is no need to revive *childern*.

Furder and *Fardest*.—Milton, I think, never has the form *farther* in his poetry, and never the form *furthest*; but out of fifteen times in which he uses the word *further* he prints it three times *furder*, and in seven occurrences of *farthest* it is thrice *fardest*. No reason can be detected in the several cases for the change from the *th* to the *d*; and, as the *th* is most frequent with himself, that may be the rule.

Wardrope.—The word *wardrobe* occurs twice (*Lyc.* 47, and *Vac. Ex.* 18). In the first case it is spelt *wardrop* in print, but *wardrope* in the Cambridge MS.; in the second *wardrope*. This may have been a pronunciation of the time; but it is erroneous, ungraceful, and not worth keeping.

Terf or *terfe* for *turf*.—This is one of the spellings of Milton that have escaped notice. It can hardly be accidental, for it occurs wherever the word is used in the poetry,—*i.e.* four times in all. But the phonetic difference between *terf* and *turf* is not appreciable, and *turf* is the genuine old form in writers from Chaucer to Milton.

Alablaster for *alabaster*.—The word occurs three times—

twice with the *l* (*Com.* 660, and *P. L.*, IV. 544), and once without it (*P. R.*, IV. 548). As the proper word is *alabaster*, and is as old as Chaucer in that form, the insertion of the *l* was but a temporary freak.

Perfet and *Imperfet*: *Verdit.*—The word *perfect* occurs thirty-one times in the poetry, thirty times as the adjective, and only once as the verb (*P. L.*, XI. 36). In eleven occurrences of the adjective the spelling is *perfect*, as now; in the remaining nineteen occurrences of the adjective, and in the single occurrence of the verb, the spelling is *perfet*. The spelling *perfect* predominates in the Minor Poems, occurring five times, while *perfet* occurs but twice (*Com.* 203, *Lyc.* 82); in the first two occurrences of the word in *Par. Lost* it is *perfect* (I. 550, II. 764), but uniformly through the rest of the poem, or sixteen times, it is *perfet*; in *Par. Reg.* it occurs five times, with a relapse into *perfect* in the first four, but a return to *perfet* the last time (IV. 468); and in *Sams. Ag.* it occurs but once, and then in the form *perfet*. ——The negative adjective occurs four times in all,—three times in *Par. Lost*, as *imperfet* (IX. 338, 345, and XII. 300), and once as *imperfect* (*Vac. Ex.* 3). There seems not the least doubt, therefore, that Milton preferred, at least occasionally, the French form (*parfait*, *imparfait*) to the direct Latin (*perfectus*, *imperfectus*). The French form indeed seems to have been the older; for we have *parfit*, *parfite*, and *parfitly* in our texts of Chaucer. All in all, as Milton's oscillation between the two forms is curious, both might have been kept in the text; but, if there is to be uniformity, the predominance of *perfect* in the Minor Poems, the setting out with it in *Par. Lost*, and the return to it in *Par. Reg.*, co-operate in its favour with present custom.—— There are no such reasons additional to present custom in the similar case of the French form *verdit* for *verdict*. Milton has the word twice only (*S. A.* 324, 1228); and in both cases the original gives *verdit*.

Show or *shew*.—At present either spelling of the word is legitimate, though *show* is the more common. There is little doubt, however, that *shew* is the more ancient spelling, that the word was pronounced correspondingly (like *shoe*), and that the spelling *show* came in with the fixing of pronunciation to our present practice. It is, accordingly, a very interesting word in Milton. If I am right in my

counting, it occurs seventy-two times in all in his poetry,—fourteen times as the noun, singular or plural, and fifty-eight times as the verb in various forms, including the past participle. Now, out of these seventy-two times, we have the *ew* spelling fifty-eight times, and the *ow* spelling fourteen times. In each of these cases of the *ow* spelling it may, of course, stand; and, indeed, in *Sonnet* XXI. 12, *Arc.* 79, *Ps.* CXIV. 5, it *must* stand, on account of the rhymes there (*show—know; show—go;* and *shown—known*). There is no doubt, therefore, that the pronunciation *show* was already familiar. There is room for doubt, however, whether it was yet universal. For, out of the fifty-eight instances of the *ew* spelling, there are *five* in which that spelling might seem essential for the rhyme, viz. *Il Pens.* 171 (*shew* rhyming to *dew*), *Com.* 51 (*shew* rhyming to *true*), *Ps.* LXXXV. 26 (*shew* rhyming to *renew*), *Ps.* LXXXVI. 54 (*shew* again rhyming to *true*), *Sonnet* II. 4 (*shew'th* rhyming to *youth*, *truth*, and *indu'th*). In these places, at all events, the *ew* spelling ought to stand.

The word "Roll," and its symphonies.—The word *roll* occurs thirty-eight times in the poetry, our present spelling appearing only once among them, in the form *roll'd*, while all the other thirty-seven times we have *rowl*, *rowle*, *roul*, or *roule*, with *rowl'd*, *rould*, *rowling*, *rouling*, etc. Now, there can be no doubt that Milton knew and used our present pronunciation of the words *roll*, *rolled*. The single occurrence of the spelling *roll'd* in the Piedmontese Sonnet would prove this, even if the word did not rhyme there with *cold*, *old*, and *fold*, spelt so. Besides which, we have the word *enroll* five times in the poetry—twice, it is true, as *enrowle* and *inrould* (*Ps.* LXXXVII. 23, and *P. L.*, XII. 523), but three times in the unmistakable forms of *enroll'd* (*S. A.* 653, 1736) and *enrol'd* (*S. A.* 1224). The question is, however, whether, when the word occurs with the *ow* or *ou* spelling, it is always or ever to be pronounced as that spelling would now suggest. In many cases, I can vouch, a reader of the original editions, coming on the spellings *rowle*, *rowl*, *roul*, *rowl'd*, *rowling*, etc., is tempted, partly by the sight of such spellings, partly by a sense of the fitness of the sound they suggest at the places where they occur, to wish the spellings kept, and our pronunciation adjusted to them: *e.g.*

"Reignd where these Heavn's now rowl."—*P. L.*, V 578.

> "on each hand the flames
> Drivn backward slope their pointing spires, and rowld
> In billows, leave i' th' midst a horrid Vale."—*P. L.*, I. 222-224.

> "Rowld inward, and a spacious Gap disclos'd."—*P. L.*, VI. 861.

> "Lay vanquisht, rowling in the fiery Gulfe."—*P. L.*, I. 52.

> "And towards the Gate rouling her bestial train."—*P. L.*, II. 873.

Did Milton, in all these cases, or in any of them, intend the sound which the spelling suggests to us? The following might seem to decide the matter:—

> "When at the brook of Kishon old
> They were repulst and slain,
> At Endor quite cut off, and rowl'd
> As dung upon the plain."—*Ps.* LXXXIII. 37-40.

Here *rowl'd* rhymes to *old.* But take another passage:—

> "Let th' enemy pursue my soul
> And overtake it, let him tread
> My life down to the earth and roul
> In the dust my glory dead,
> In the dust and there out spread
> Lodge it with dishonour foul."—*Ps.* VII. 13-18.

What are we to do here? Either, keeping our modern pronunciations of the three rhyming words, *soul*, *roll*, and *foul*, we must accept the imperfect rhyme; or, as there is no doubt that our pronunciation of *foul* was also the old one, we must make the other two words conform in sound to it, and so read *sowl*, *rowl*, *foul.* It may seem even comic to think of the second alternative, and suppose that the pronunciations *sowl*, *ould*, etc., which we hear occasionally from the lips of old Irish pensioners and the like, were accepted pronunciations in Milton's days. But really the inquiry must take that range. It includes such words as *old*, *bold*, *cold*, *fold*, *told*, *control*, *scroll*, etc. *Old* is one of Milton's most frequent words; and, though I cannot certify that I have examined every occurrence of it, I have examined a great many without once finding the spelling *ould.* But I have found *bould* once (*P. L.*, XI. 642) in twenty-seven occurrences of the word *bold*, and *tould* once (*P. L.*, XI. 298) in nineteen occurrences of *told.* In twenty occurrences of the word *fold*, as noun or verb, I have found exactly one half with our present spelling, but the other half as *fould*,

foulds, *foulded*. *Controule* (*P. L.*, v. 803) and *controul* (*Od. Nat.* 228) are the only occurrences of that word; and we have never *scroll*, but only *scrowle* twice (*P. L.*, XII. 336, *Ps.* LXXXVII. 21). Nor is Milton singular in such spellings. In Richardson's Dictionary there are examples of *rowle* and *roule* as well as *roll*, and of *scrowle* and *scroul* as well as *scroll*, from earlier writers, back to Chaucer. Spenser frequently indulged in *rowle*. On the other hand, the spelling *roll* had become commoner with some of Milton's contemporaries, and even some of his seniors, than we find it in himself. Thus *roll* or *rolle*, rhyming to such words as *pole* and *soul*, and *roll'd* or even *rold*, rhyming to such words as *gold* and *uphold*, are common in the poems of Drummond of Hawthornden as early as 1616; where I do not think *rowl* or *rowl'd* will easily be found, but where I light on one Sonnet containing the word *scroule* rhyming to *soule*, *mole* and *pole*.——This last instance might suggest the true solution; which is that, even when the spelling was *scroule* or *scrowle*, *rowl* or *roul*, the pronunciation had come to be definitely *scroll* and *roll*. Observe that we still retain *ou* and *ow* in many words where the sound is that of the simple long *o*; e.g. *soul*, *mould*, *shoulder*, *poultry*, *mourn*, *fourth*, *know*, *blow*, *below*, *snow*, *own*, *bestow*.

Spelling of the Past Tense and Past Participle of weak Verbs.—Two practices in the old texts are to be noticed under this head: viz. (1) the use of the apostrophe in past tenses and participles in *ed* when the *e* is not to be sounded, as *lov'd*, *flow'd*, *mov'd*, *favour'd*, *espi'd*, *rais'd*, *oppos'd*, *flam'd*, *reserv'd*, *prepar'd*, *ordain'd*, *unconsum'd*, *injur'd*; (2) the occurrence of the *t* form for the *ed* where the sound is actually *t* and not *d*, as in *vanquisht*, *markt*, *banisht*, *belcht*, *kickt*, *lookt*, *mixt*, *encampt*, *tipt*, *prest*, etc.

(1.) The former practice is still kept up in a lax way in our poetry; and such forms as *lov'd*, *mov'd*, *adorn'd*, *steer'd* are still expected whenever we open a book of verse. Wordsworth, however, set the example of abandoning the habit, and writing *loved*, *moved*, *adorned*, *steered*, even when the *e* is not to be sounded. He was right, and it would be well if such forms as *lov'd*, *steer'd*, *adorn'd* (with *Heav'ns*, *giv'n*, and the like) were banished from our verse. They serve no purpose, for who ever wants now, except by special direction, to say *lovèd*, *steerèd*, *adornèd*; and they are an eyesore in

our printed pages, already sufficiently ticked with apostrophes in possessive cases and elsewhere. The fact is, such forms as *lov'd*, *steer'd*, *adorn'd*, were once habitual in English prose also: and we have feebly retained in our verse-printing what we have swept out of our prose-printing without harm. Probably the origin of the habit was that in former times the suffix *ed* was oftener sounded in full than now, and that, when the habit of the contracted pronunciation became more common, the apostrophe was a convenient means for marking it. The disfigurement of old printed pages by this device was the less because the apostrophe was not then much used in possessive cases and inverted commas were rare. But that Milton and his contemporaries found the apostrophe troublesome even in this case appears from their often dropping it. Milton has *rowld* as often as *rowl'd;* and his pages abound with such spellings as *appeerd*, *barbd*, *embattelld*.

(2.) The Miltonic forms *vanquisht*, *markt*, *lookt*, *mixt*, *belcht*, etc., have been admired by some late writers. But more has been made of the trifle than it is worth. It is not a matter of necessity in order to direct the pronunciation; for, let us write *vanquished*, *marked*, *looked*, *mixed*, *belched*, as persistently as we please, no English mouth can pronounce them otherwise than *vanquisht*, *lookt*, etc. The sole intrinsic reason to be given, then, for the *t* spelling in such words is that it is phonetically truer, and at the same time more curt, than the other. If once, however, we raise the flag of phonetic accuracy in English spelling, there is a world more for us to do than write *lookt* and *mixt* while our neighbours write *looked* and *mixed*. Still, in reprinting Milton, the plea might avail if he had himself been constant to his own supposed habit. But he was not so. His admirers in this minute matter, besides forgetting that any credit in it for a great part of his life belonged to the printers, have not sufficiently examined the original texts of his Poems. Not only do we find there many instances of the awkward suffix form *'t* instead of simple *t*,—e.g. *plac't*, *provok't*, *escap't*, *danc't;* we find also frequent aberrations into the *d* form of the suffix where the sound is, and cannot but be, *t*. If I find *plac't*, I also find *plac'd;* if I find *exprest*, I also find *express'd;* if I find *washt*, I also find *wash'd;* and so I find *pass'd*, *passd*, *march'd*, *lik'd*, *pluck'd*, *shriek'd*, *possess'd*,

ask'd, *retrench'd*, etc. Are we to rectify all these into the *t* form, or are we to follow slavishly the texts in their reasonless changings from *t* to *'t*, and from both to *d* or *'d*, and back again? Surely the most sensible plan is to conform to present usage, and print uniformly *ed* in this category of præterites, unless where, as does happen sometimes, the *t* form recommends itself by a subtle twitch of fitness at the moment: e.g. *P. L.*, VI. 580, where the cannon in Heaven are seen, and behind each

> "A Seraph stood, and in his hand a Reed
> Stood waving *tipt* with fire."

Highth: *drouth*: *bearth*.—The word *height*, spelt as now, occurs in the 1645 edition of the Minor Poems (*Arc.* 75); but, with a single exception, in every other of thirty-four occurrences of the word in Milton's poetry (twenty-six of them in *Par. Lost*, four in *Par. Reg.*, and three in *Sams. Ag.*) it is spelt *highth*. The single exception is at *P. L.*, IX. 167, where the spelling is *hight*. There can be no doubt that Milton approved of the spelling and pronunciation *highth*, as indicating more correctly the formation of the word by the addition of the suffix *th* to the adjective *high*. He seems more dubious about the derivative verb, for he has once *highth'nd* (*P. L.*, VI. 629), and once *hight'nd* (*P. L.*, IX. 793). The word *drought* does not occur in the poetry, but the form *drouth* four times and *droughth* once (*P. R.*, I. 325). It is to be inferred that Milton preferred the *th* termination of the word, whether it meant "thirst" (for which *drouth* is still a Scottish word) or "scarcity of water" (*Com.* 928). Twice in the poetry we have the peculiar word *bearth*, viz:—

> "Help to disburden Nature of her Bearth."—*P.L.*, IX. 624.
> "Out of the tender mouths of latest bearth."—*Ps.* VIII. 4.

In all modern editions the word in both places is printed *birth*. This seems improper. The word *birth*, so spelt, is frequent in the poetry; but in at least the first of the two instances of *bearth* the spelling seems to imply a peculiar meaning. It there means "collective produce."

Sovran: *harald*.—That Milton's ear preferred the Italian form *sovran* (*sovrano*) to the French form *sovereign*, which was the commoner in his time, as it is now, is evident from

the fact that his original texts give us nineteen times *sovran*, thrice *sov'ran*, and once *soveran* (*Com.* 41), while only once have we *sov'raign* (*P. R.*, I. 84). So we have *sovrantie* once and *sov'ranty* once. In the Minor Poems we have *herald* and *heraldry* as now (*Lyc.* 89, *Od. Circ.* 10); but, whenever the word occurs in *Par. Lost*, it is in the form *harald*, from the Italian *haraldo* (I. 752, II. 518, XI. 660). In the single occurrence of the word after *Par. Lost* (*Par. Reg.*, II. 279) there is a relapse into *herald.* Milton probably thought the sound *harald* more heroic, and therefore more suitable for *Par. Lost.*

Stupendious.—This word, though a solecism or vulgarism now, cannot always have been such, for Richardson gives instances of it from Howell, Henry More, and Barrow. Milton has the word but twice, and both times as *stupendious* (*P. L.*, X. 351, *S. A.* 1627).

Voutsafe.—This is one of the quaintest peculiarities of Milton's spelling. Three times in the poetry we have our present spelling *vouchsafe* (*P. R.*, II. 210, *Ps.* LXXX. 14 and 30); but the word occurs seventeen times besides, and always as *voutsafe*, *voutsaf'st*, *voutsafes*, *voutsaf't*, *voutsaf'd*, or *voutsaft.* Now, as the word is compounded of *vouch* and *safe*, and as *vouchsafe*, *vouchsave*, or the like, with the *vouch* fully preserved, was the usual spelling of Milton's predecessors and contemporaries, he must have had a reason for the elliptical form *voutsafe.* I believe it was his dislike to the sound *ch*, or to that sound combined with *s.* Milton evidently made a study of that quality of style which Bentham called "pronunciability." His fine ear taught him not only to seek for musical effects and cadences at large, but also to be fastidious as to syllables, and to avoid harsh or difficult conjunctions of consonants, except when there might be a musical reason for harshness or difficulty. In the management of the letter *s*, the frequency of which in English is one of the faults of the speech, he will be found, I believe, most careful and skilful. More rarely, I think, in Milton than in Shakespeare will one word ending in *s* be found followed immediately by another word beginning with the same letter; or, if he does occasionally pen such a phrase as "*Moab's sons*," it will be difficult to find in him, I believe, such a harsher example as *earth's substance*, of which many writers would think nothing. The

same delicacy of ear is even more apparent in his management of the *sh* sound. He has it often, of course, because he could not avoid it; but it may be noted that he rejects it in his verse when he can. He writes *Basan* for *Bashan* (*P. L.*, I. 398), *Sittim* for *Shittim* (*P. L.*, I. 413), *Silo* for *Shiloh* (*S. A.* 1674), *Asdod* for *Ashdod* (*S. A.* 981), etc. Still more, however, does he seem to have been wary of the compound sound *ch* as in *church*. Of his sensitiveness to this sound in excess there is a curious proof in his prose pamphlet entitled *An Apology against a Pamphlet called A Modest Confutation*, etc., where, having occasion to quote these lines from one of the Satires of his opponent, Bishop Hall,

> "Teach each hollow grove to sound his love,
> Wearying echo with one changeless word,"

he adds, ironically, "And so he well might, and all his auditory besides, with his *teach each!*" There can be little doubt, I think, that it was to avoid this *teach each* that he took the liberty of Miltonizing the good old English word *vouchsafe* into *voutsafe*.

There are some cases where, though there is no peculiarity in the spelling of Milton's texts, a difference of pronunciation is to be borne in mind. Such are his occasional differences from our present accentuation,—*aspéct* for *áspect*, *surfáce* for *súrface*, *infámous* for *ínfamous*, *blasphémous* for *blásphemous*, *brígad for brigáde*; and his occasional elongations of words, —as when he makes three syllables of *conscience*, five of *contemplation*, etc. The metre itself directs the reader in such cases.

III. PECULIARITIES OF GRAMMATICAL INFLECTION.

Such of these as need be noticed here distribute themselves, of course, among the parts of speech subject to inflection. These we shall take in this order,—Noun, Adjective (with Adverb), Verb, Pronoun.

NOUN.

In modern English, practice varies as to the possessive

singular of nouns already ending in *s*. We say the *lass's beauty;* but we hear also *Mars' hill* (as in the English Bible, Acts xvii. 22), *James' book*, and still more certainly *Dickens' works*, *Lycurgus' laws*, *Socrates' disciples*, *Aristophanes' comedies*. The better way would be the regular one, *Mars's hill*, *James's book*, *Dickens's works*, etc., though euphony in the case of words of more than two syllables might advise avoiding the inflection altogether by saying "the laws of Lycurgus," etc. Milton has *asses jaw* (*i.e.*, in our spelling, *ass's jaw*); but his general practice in such words is not to double the *s*; thus *Nereus wrinkled look*, *Glaucus spell*. The necessities of metre would naturally constrain to such forms.

ADJECTIVE.

In Milton, as in other writers of his time, adjectives of two syllables and more, which we generally compare now by the expletives *more* and *most*, received sometimes the regular inflection for comparison: e.g. *famousest* (*S. A.* 982), *virtuousest* (*P. L.*, VIII. 550), *exquisitest* (*P. R.*, II. 346). The curious double comparisons found in Shakespeare and others (*more braver*, *less happier*, *most unkindest*, etc.) are strange to Milton, unless *chiefest* is taken into the category.

VERB.

CONJUGATION OR INFLECTION FOR TENSE.—Seven times in the poetry we have the word *wept* as now; but once, whether intentionally or not, the form is *weept* (*Ep. March. Winch.* 56). The præterite of the verb *eat* occurs but four times (*L'All.* 102; *P. L.*, IX. 781; *P. R.*, I. 352 and II. 274), never as *ate*, but each time in the form *eat*. In the past participles of those peculiar verbs which are themselves derived from Latin past participles Milton, like Shakespeare and others, sometimes prefers the original Latin form to the elongated form with the *ed* suffix: *e.g.*

"Who ever by consulting at thy shrine
Return'd the wiser, or the more *instruct?*"—*P. R.*, I. 439.

"What I can do or offer is *suspect*."—*P. R.*, II. 399.

"Of pleasure *situate* in Hill and Dale."—*P. L.*, VI. 641.

"But to destruction sacred and *devote*."—*P. L.*, III. 208.

"Bright effluence of bright essence *increate*."—*P. L.*, III. 6.

We also find *uplift* for *uplifted* (*P. L.*, I. 193), *yield* standing probably for the past indicative *yielded* (*S. A.* 259), and (*Od. Nat.* 64) the Shakespearian *whist* for *whisted*:—

"The windes with wonder *whist*
Smoothly the waters kist."

The following are some other peculiarities in the conjugation of strong verbs:—*Sung* for *sang*; *sprung for sprang*; *sunk* for *sank*; and *frore* for *frozen* (*P. L.*, II. 595); *shaked* for *shaken* (*Od. F. Inf.* 44); *shook* for *shaken* (*P. L.*, IV. 219); *stole* for *stolen* (*P. L.*, IV. 719); *took* for *taken* (*Com.* 558); *mistook* for *mistaken* (*Arc.* 4); *strook* for *struck* (*P. L.*, II. 165, and other places). The Miltonic conjugations of *sing* and *strike* are especially interesting. See notes to *P. L.*, III. 383; and *Od. Nat.* 95. The old participial prefix *y* (standing for the German *ge*) is found only two or three times in Shakespeare, as in *yclept*, *yclad*, *yslaked*. In Spenser, with his studied archaism, it is frequent. Milton has it but rarely,—*ychained* (*Od. Nat.* 155), *yclept* (*L'All.* 12), See notes on these passages: also on *rushy-fringed* (*Com.* 890), and *star-ypointing* (*On Shak.* 4).

INFLECTION FOR PERSON AND MOOD.—Once (*P. L.*, XI. 369) we have *slepst* for *sleptst*; where, if it is not a misprint, the *t* is omitted for ease of sound. Milton had learnt to prefer the *s* inflection, originally Northern English, to the *th* inflection, more South-English, for the third person singular indicative. Thus he has *loves*, rather than *loveth*; *brings*, for *bringeth*; *sees*, for *seeth*; *seems*, for *seemeth*. Occasionally, however, he has the *th* form: e.g. *singeth* (*L'All.* 65), *saith* (*Ps.* II. 11), *lieth* (*Ep. Hobs.* II. 1), *shew'th and indu'th* (*Sonnet* II.) He has *quoth* twice (*Lyc.* 107 and *Ep. Hobs.* II. 17). *Hath* is incessant with him, and *doth* is frequent. He uses the verb *be* indicatively (e.g. *Com.* 12, "Yet some there be").

PRONOUNS.

Like Shakespeare and others of our older writers, Milton employs the nominative plural form *ye* occasionally for the

objective *you*: e.g. *Com.* 216, "I see *ye* visibly," and 1020, "She can teach *ye* how to climb." By far the most important inquiry, however, under the present head, relates to Milton's use of the possessive singular of the third personal pronoun in its three gender forms, *his*, *her*, *its*. The brunt of the inquiry falls on the form *its*. This word, it is well known, is one of the greatest curiosities in the English language, not being a genuine old English word at all, but an upstart of the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, seldom used even then, or for a good while afterwards, and not fully admitted till the reign of Charles II. It may be well here to give its history a little more in detail.

In the old Englisc, called Anglo-Saxon, the third personal pronoun was declined thus:—

	Singular.			*Plural.*
	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	All Genders.
Nom.	*he*	*heó*	*hit*	*hí*
Gen.	*his*	*hire*	*his*	*hira*
Dat. and Abl.	*him*	*hire*	*him*	*him*
Acc.	*hine*	*hí*	*hit*	*hí*

The neuter nominative and accusative, it will be seen, was *hit*, and the neuter possessive, as well as the masculine possessive, was *his*. But "neuter" in Anglo-Saxon did not mean precisely what it does in modern English. We have no proper grammatical recognition of gender in modern English nouns, but make all names for male living beings masculine, all names for females feminine, and all names for lifeless things neuter, except when we personify them. In old English or Anglo-Saxon, however, just as in Greek and Latin, and modern German, there was a true grammatical distinction of gender, and the names of lifeless things were distributed into the three genders—masculine, feminine, and neuter. Thus, *gást* (*breath* or *wind*) is masculine in Anglo-Saxon; and so, in John iii. 8, where our present version has, "The wind bloweth where *it* listeth, and thou hearest the sound *thereof*," the *A.-S* has "Gást oréthath thar *he* wile, and thú gehýrst *his* stefne." Again, *Judea*, the name of the country, is feminine; and so, in Luke xxi. 21, where our version has "Then let them which are in Judea flee to the mountains; and let them which are in the midst *of it* depart out," the *A.-S.* has "Thonne fleoth on múntas

tha the on Judea synd; and nyther ne ástígath tha the on *hyre* middele synd." Finally, *sæd* (a seed) and *treow* (a tree) are both neuter; and so, in Matt. xiii. 32, where our version, respecting the mustard seed, says, "Which indeed is the least of all seeds: but, when it is grown, it is the greatest among herbs and becometh a tree, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches *of it*," the *A.-S.* has "Thæt is ealra sǽda læst: sóthlíce thonne *hit* wyxth, *hit* is ealra wyrta mǽst, and *hit* wyrth treow; swá thæt heofnan fuhlas cumath and eardiath on *his* bogum."

Like every other portion of English inflected speech, the third personal pronoun sustained remarkable changes in passing out of the old Englisc or Anglo-Saxon stage of the book-language into what is called Early English, or the book-English of the fourteenth century. Perhaps not till the close of the fifteenth century, or the first half of the sixteenth, when compromises among the dialects for the formation of a standard book-speech had been pretty well completed, could a fixed modern declension of the pronoun for all literary England have been written down. Then, in our usual spelling, it stood as follows:—

	Singular.			*Plural.*
	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	All Genders.
Nom.	*he*	*she*	*it*	*they*
Gen.	*his*	*her*	*his*	*their*
Acc. and Dat.	*him*	*her*	*it*	*them*

On comparing this with the declension in the old literary Englisc or Anglo-Saxon, what had happened in the interval, it will be seen, consisted of three things:—I. *Neglect and confusion of Inflections.* II. *Interblending with other Pronouns.* This is seen in the substitution of *she* for the old nom. fem. sing. *heó*,—said *she* being the nom. fem. sing. of the old definite article, or demonstrative pronoun, *se*, *seó*, *thæt* (appropriated by northern writers for the purpose as early as the twelfth century, and passing through such variations as *seó*, *scho*, *sco*, *scæ*, *sche*); and it is also seen in the substitution of the plural cases of that same definite article or demonstrative pronoun—*tha*, *thára*, *thám*, *tha*—bodily, though with the usual corruption and confusion of inflections, for the cashiered old native plurals *hi*, *hira*, *him*, *hi*. This last substitution was introduced in the North in the thirteenth

century; and Chaucer stood out against it, as far as the genitive and accusative cases were concerned. III. *The operation of the H-dropping Tendency.* This tendency, so natural to the Southern English, had plenty of scope in a pronoun all whose parts originally began with *h*. The stress of the tendency, however, fell on the neuter singular of the pronoun. The old A.-S. *hit* passed, in books, at first optionally, into *it*, but at last decidedly and conclusively into *it*. The dropping of the *h* in *hit* is as early as the twelfth century; in the fourteenth century *it* and *hit* are found competing with each other, some districts and dialects preferring one, and others the other; in Chaucer's text both are found, though *it* predominates; but by the sixteenth century *hit* is obsolete in general literature and *it* established.

How about the *possessive* or *genitive* forms of the pronoun between the fourteenth century and the sixteenth? So far there was no difficulty. *His*, the proper old masculine possessive, went with *he* (nom.) and *him* (acc.), for males; *her*, the proper old feminine possessive, went with *she* (nom.) and *her* (acc.) for females; and the arrangement has held good to our day. Where the difficulty came to be felt was in the case of the much more numerous neuter nouns, or names for all inanimate objects. *His* was still, theoretically, as we have marked it in the last declension, the proper neuter poss. sing. as well as the proper masc. poss. sing.; but practice and theory had begun to conflict. So long indeed as the *hit* form of the nominative or accusative neuter was kept up generally, or in any district, the difficulty hardly appeared. The old neuter possessive *his* could still vindicate itself by its obvious etymological connexion with *hit*. But, when the *h* was dropped, and *hit* became *it* generally or locally, there came a flutter among the grammarians. What had *his* to do with *it?* Was not *his* the masculine possessive, going properly with *he* and *him?* Why let *it*, which had not an *h* to show for itself, claim the same form? In this emergency we see a struggle of methods:—(1) To distribute the confusion by obliging the feminine form *her* to relieve the supposed masculine form *his* occasionally in the duty of serving as a possessive for *it*. The late Mr. Thomas Watts's quotations of Numbers iv. 9 from some of our versions of the Bible in chronological series are very pertinent here. In Wycliffe's Bible (1389)

the text runs, "And thei shulen take the iacyntyn mantil with the which thei shulen cover the candelstik with the lanterns and *her* toonges and snyters." In the contemporary variety of Wycliffe's called Purvey's, however, we find "Thei schulen take also a mentil of iacynt with which thei schulen hile the candilstike with *hise* lanternes and tongis and snytels." In Tyndale's Pentateuch (1530) there is a return to *her* in the text and its continuation, thus: "And they shall take a cloth of jacyncte and cover the candelsticke of light and *hir* lampes and *hir* snoffers and fyre pannes, and all *hir* oyle vessels which they occupye aboute *it*, and shall put upon *her* and on all *hir* instrumentes a coverynge of taxus skynnes, and put it upon staves." In Coverdale's version (1535) *his* reappears: "And they shal take a yalowe clothe and cover the candilsticke of light therwith, and *his* lampes, with *his* snoffers and outquenchers." In Matthews's Bible (1537) we have the feminine again, "And they shall take a cloth of iacincte, and cover the candelstycke of lyght and *her* lampes and *her* snoffers and fyre pannes." Finally, in our authorised version (1611), "And they shall take a cloth of blue, and cover the candlestick of the light, and *his* lamps, and *his* tongs, and *his* snuffdishes, and all the oil vessels thereof, wherewith they minister unto *it*." These vicissitudes of *his* and *her* in one passage seem clearly to prove that between the fourteenth century and the seventeenth *her* was allowed to compete with *his* in the office of possessive for the neuter *it*. Here we may detect, if we choose, a survival of the idea of grammatical gender, even in a case where the recollection of the Anglo-Saxon gender of a particular noun had perished; for *candel-stæf* and *candel-sticca*, the two words for "candlestick" in A.-S., are both masculine. (2) Another plan was to avoid giving *it* a possessive form at all, and resort to such substitutes as *of it*, *thereof*, *of the same*, or the repetition of the possessive of the noun designated by the pronoun. (3) Still the need of a distinct possessive for *it* was felt; and, at length, a third plan was adopted. The hint for this plan seems to have been furnished by the dialect of the West Midlands (Lancashire, etc.) There, if not elsewhere in England, the habit of ignoring inflections in every possible case had been pushed so far as to bring about such phrases as "The King wife" for "the King's wife," and the same habit had been extended

to the neuter pronoun *hit*, so as to make it indeclinable, or the same for nominative, possessive, and accusative. "*Hit* dedes of dethe duren there yet" ("Its deeds of death endure there yet") and "Of *hit* woe will I wete" ("Of its woe will I wit") are examples quoted by Dr. Morris from English poems of that dialect in the fourteenth century; and he reports that this possessive use of *hit* is quite common in those poems. Now, by extension, this possessive use of *hit* was easily transferred, in other dialects, to the *it* which had become the substitute for *hit;* and thus, in the sixteenth century, if not earlier, the duties of the possessive case, in addition to those of the other two, were imposed on the simple *it*. Mr. Aldis Wright, in his *Bible Word-Book*, quotes instances from Udal's *Erasmus* (1548), and from the Geneva Bible (1579): *e.g.* "Love and devocion towardes God also hath *it* infancie, and it hath *it* comying forewarde in groweth of age"; "The evangelicall simplicitee hath a politique cast of *it* owne too"; "This world hath *it* glorie." Such instances from sixteenth century writings could be multiplied. (4) But a possessive in *t* was an anomaly; and so there sprang up a fourth device. As *it* was a stray and seemingly kinless word, why not subject it to the common rule, and form a possessive for it by the ordinary plan of clapping on an *s*? As they said "*Kit's* hat," or "*Bet's* bonnet," why not say of the hat "it's band" or of the bonnet "it's ribbon"? Accordingly we find *it's* as a possessive creeping into use late in the sixteenth century. Where, or by whom, it was first used will perhaps never be known. I should not wonder if the form was of northern origin, *s* being a favourite inflectional factotum in northern parts, and the form *it* having been adopted there for book-use, though *hit* was vernacular. The oldest instances of *it's* quoted by Mr. Aldis Wright are from Florio's *Worlde of Wordes* (1598), and the same writer's *Montaigne* (1603); but, as instances are frequent there,—"for it's owne sake," "science had it's of-spring,' "doe it's best," "it's name," etc.,—it seems likely that Florio only confirmed a previous custom.

In our authorized version of the Bible (1611) the word *its* does not once occur. In one passage in our modern copies, indeed (Levit. xxv. 5), we read "That which groweth of *its* own accord of thy harvest thou shalt not reap"; but this is a printer's substitution, in or about 1653, for the text of the

original edition, "That which groweth of *it* owne accord of thy harvest thou shalt not reape." While in this passage the authorized version uses that now obsolete possessive form *it* which we have marked as the *third* method in our historical enumeration, the prevailing methods there are the *first* and *second*. Evasion by "*of it*" "*thereof*," etc., is common enough; but, where the evasion is not resorted to, the true old form *his*, without recourse to the alternative *her*, is the rule. Whether this was from a cognisance of the fact that *his* was the true old neuter form, as well as the masculine, it might be difficult to determine. The example in Numbers iv. 9—"the candlestick of the light, and *his* lamps, and *his* tongs, and *his* snuffdishes, and all the oil vessels thereof, wherewith they minister unto *it*"—rather suggests that it was; and so do Gen. i. 11, "The fruit-tree yielding fruit after *his* kind, whose seed is in itself," and the phrase, Luke xiv. 34, "If the salt have lost *his* savour, wherewith shall *it* be seasoned?" In any case, the utter omission of the word *its* from the authorized version, though that word was already in existence in London, seems to prove that it was not considered sufficiently respectable for an elevated purpose.

Nevertheless, the word was pushing itself into use at that time colloquially, and in popular, and especially dramatic, literature. Shakespeare's practice with respect to it may be taken as significant of what was going on around him. Mr. Aldis Wright finds the possessive form *it* in the First Folio exactly fifteen times, and the form *its* exactly ten times; and he quotes (*Bible Word-Book*) all the instances of each. Shakespeare, he proves, accepted *its* as a word that might be used occasionally, and that sometimes recommended itself by a necessity or a kind of emphatic fitness. Overwhelmingly predominant, however, in his text is the continued use of *his* where we should now employ *its*. Hardly a page or two of any good edition, when carefully read, but will furnish an example. There are also instances in Shakespeare of *her* where we should now use *its*, though these are rarer, and in some of them one may detect a tinge of that personifying mode of thought which might suggest *her* now in similar cases. Some instances of *its* have been produced from Bacon; and it has been found in Sylvester's Du Bartas (1605), and not unfrequently in Ben Jonson, and

the dramatists and other popular writers of the reigns of James and Charles I. I have come upon it easily enough in the prose and verse of Drummond of Hawthornden between 1616 and 1630, sometimes in cases where a contemporary southern writer would pretty surely have used *his;* I have, on the whole, an impression that the northern writers and speakers of that time used it more frequently than the southern; but, as I have found it in the title of a London book of 1651 in so emphatic a form as this, "England's Deliverance from the Northern Presbyter compared with *itt's* deliverance from the Roman Papacy," and as I have also found it quite at home in other writings of that date, I cannot doubt that the word was a perfectly acceptable one in London in the middle of the seventeenth century. Indeed, it is formally recognised in Butler's English Grammar of the year 1633, though Butler himself in that very grammar avoids the use of it and prefers the form *his*. In the first sentence of Lawes's dedication of his private edition of Milton's *Comus*, in 1637, to Lord Brackley we read "this poem, which received *its* first occasion of birth," etc.

What of Milton himself? By diligent search one may come, here and there, on an *its* in his prose-writings; but that even in his prose he disliked and avoided the form seems proved by such passages as the following in his Elementary Latin Grammar entitled *Accedence Commenc't Grammar* (published in 1669, though doubtless written long before):—"The Superlative exceedeth *his* Positive in the highest degree, as *durissimus*, hardest; and it is formed of the first case of *his* Positive that ends in *is*, by putting thereto *simus*"; "There be three Concords or Agreements: The first is of the Adjective with *his* Substantive; The Second is of the Verb with *his* Nominative Case; The Third is of the Relative with *his* Antecedent." Let us pass, however, from Milton's prose to his poetry.

In Milton's poetry, I believe, it has been definitely ascertained, he uses the word *its* only three times, viz. *Od. Nat.* 106, *Par. Lost*, I. 254, and *Par. Lost*, IV. 813. Here are those three memorable passages:—

"Nature that heard such sound
Beneath the hollow round
Of *Cynthia's* seat, the Airy region thrilling,

Now was almost won
To think her part was don,
And that her raign had here *its* last fulfilling;
She knew such harmony alone
Could hold all Heav'n and Earth in happier union."—
Od. Nat. 101-108.

" Hail horrours, hail
Infernal world, and thou profoundest Hell
Receive thy new Possessor: One who brings
A mind not to be chang'd by Place or Time.
The mind is *its* own place, and in it self
Can make a Heav'n of Hell, a Hell of Heav'n."—
Par. Lost, I. 250-255.

" Him thus intent *Ithuriel* with his Spear
Touch'd lightly; for no falshood can endure
Touch of Celestial temper, but returns
Of force to *its* own likeness: up he starts
Discoverd and surpriz'd."—*Par. Lost*, IV. 810-814.

Three times, therefore, in his whole life did Milton use the word *its* in his poetry,—once about Christmas-day 1629, when he was one-and-twenty years of age; and twice between 1658 and 1665, when he was between his fiftieth year and his fifty-seventh. If the passages are studied, it will be seen that the risk of ambiguity imposed a certain necessity for using *its* in each case. The only wonder is that a similar stress of meaning and context did not oblige Milton to write or dictate *its* much more frequently.

How does he get on without it? Marvellously well. In the first place, the very idea or peculiar mental turn or act involved in the word *its* or its equivalents (*of it*, *thereof*, etc.) was somehow far rarer in the writing of Milton's time than it is in writing now. Mr. Craik's remark on this subject is both true and acute. " The most curious thing of all in the history of the word *its*," he says, " is the extent to which, before its recognition as a word admissible in serious composition, even the occasion for its employment was avoided or eluded. This is very remarkable in Shakespeare. The very conception which we express by *its* probably does not occur once in his works for ten times that it is to be found in any modern writer. So that we may say the invention, or adoption, of this form has changed not only our English style, but even our manner of thinking." What Mr. Craik here says of Shakespeare is true of Milton. Perhaps it is

even truer of Milton. That he was much more-chary of the use of the word *its* than Shakespeare had been appears from the fact that, though Shakespeare had used the word ten times before 1616, Milton in his literary life, stretching from 1625 to 1674, used it in his poetry but three times. But even of the substitutes or equivalents he is charier than Shakespeare. The odd possessive form *it*, found in Shakespeare fifteen times, is not found in Milton's poetry once. The word *thereof*, if Todd's verbal index is to be trusted, occurs but seven times, all in *Paradise Lost*, and never in the exact sense of *its*, but only as a translation of *of it* in such a text of Scripture as "In the day that thou eatest *thereof*." In short, for the expression of our conception *its* in a single word, when he did want to express it, Milton confined himself, even more strictly than Shakespeare, to the alternative of *his* or *her*.

On the whole, *her* seems to have been Milton's favourite. Here are a few examples :—

> "His form had not yet lost
> All *her* Original brightness."—*P. L.*, I. 592.
>
> "Th' ascending pile
> Stood fixt *her* stately highth."—*P. L.*, I. 723.
>
> "Th' Ethereal mould
> Incapable of stain would soon expel
> *Her* mischief."—*P. L.*, II. 141.
>
> "This Desart soile
> Wants not *her* hidden lustre, Gemms and Gold."—
> *P. L.*, II. 271.
>
> "If I that Region lost,
> All usurpation thence expell'd, reduce
> To *her* original darkness."—*P. L.*, II. 984.

But, though Milton uses *her* for our *its* (sometimes with an approach to personification, but not always) in cases where Shakespeare would have used *his*, Mr. Craik is wrong, I think, in saying that his personifications by *his* are rare, and still more wrong in saying he "never uses *his* in a neuter sense." Surely, the grammatical terms *Superlative*, *Adjective*, *Verb*, and *Relative*, are neuter enough; and yet to each of these, as we have seen, Milton fits the word *his*. But take a few examples from his poetry :—

"The Thunder,
Wing'd with red Lightning and impetuous rage,
Perhaps hath spent *his* shafts."—*P. L.*, I. 176.

"Southward through *Eden* went a River large,
Nor chang'd *his* course."—*P. L.*, IV. 224.

"the neather Flood,
Which from *his* darksom passage now appeers."—*Ibid.* 232.

"There stood a Hill not far whose griesly top
Belch'd fire and rowling smoak; the rest entire
Shon with a glossie scurff, undoubted sign
That in *his* womb was hid metallic Ore,
The work of Sulphur."—*P. L.*, I. 673.

"It was a Mountain at whose verdant feet
A spatious plain outstretch't in circuit wide
Lay pleasant; from *his* side two rivers flow'd."—
P. R., III. 255.

"Error by *his* own arms is best evinc't."—*P. R.*, IV. 235.

Here is a passage in which *his* and *her*, both in a neuter sense, are companions:—

"O that torment should not be confin'd
To the bodies wounds and sores
With maladies innumerable
In heart, head, brest, and reins:
But must secret passage find
To th' inmost mind,
There exercise all *his* fierce accidents,
And on *her* purest spirits prey!"—*S. A.*, 612, 613.

This little account of the history of the word *its* in connection with Milton may be concluded with a practical application. In the Library of the British Museum there is a copy of the tiny First (1645) edition of Milton's Minor Poems, on the blank page at the end of which some old possessor of the volume has left written, in minute handwriting, the following piece of verse. We print it in our present spelling:—

"AN EPITAPH.

He whom Heaven did call away
Out of this hermitage of clay
Has left some relics in this urn
As a pledge of his return.

Meanwhile the Muses do deplore
The loss of this their paramour,
With whom he sported ere the day
Budded forth its tender ray.
And now Apollo leaves his lays,
And puts on cypress for his bays;
The sacred sisters tune their quills
Only to the blubbering rills,
And while his doom they think upon
Make their own tears their Helicon,
Leaving the two-topt mount divine
To turn votaries to his shrine.
  Think not, reader, me less blest,
Sleeping in this narrow cist,
Than if my ashes did lie hid
Under some stately pyramid.
If a rich tomb makes happy, then
That bee was happier far than men
Who, busy in the thymy wood,
Was fettered by the golden flood,
Which from the amber-weeping tree
Distilleth down so plenteously;
For so this little wanton elf
Most gloriously enshrined itself—
A tomb whose beauty might compare
With Cleopatra's sepulchre.
  In this little bed my dust
Incurtained round I here intrust,
While my more pure and nobler part
Lies entombed in every heart.
  Then pass on gently, ye that mourn;
Touch not this mine hollowed urn.
These ashes which do here remain
A vital tincture still retain;
A seminal form within the deeps
Of this little chaos sleeps;
The thread of life untwisted is
Into its first consistencies;
Infant nature cradled here
In its principles appear;
This plant thus calcined into dust
In its ashes rest it must,
Until sweet Psyche shall inspire
A softening and prolific fire,
And in her fostering arms enfold
This heavy and this earthy mould.

Then as I am I'll be no more,
But bloom and blossom [as] b[efore],
When this cold numbness shall retreat
By a more than chemic heat."

Subscribed, immediately under the last line, are two initials, the first unfortunately so blurred by the Museum Library stamp that it cannot be distinctly made out, but the second distinctly "M"; and appended is the date "10ber 1647", *i.e.* "December 1647."

Professor Henry Morley, of University College, London, having been attracted by the lines, and imagining the handwriting to be Milton's, and the signature to be "J. M.," concluded that the piece was a hitherto unknown poem by Milton, written by him for preservation, in Dec. 1647, in one of his copies of his volume of Minor Poems printed two years before. He communicated it, therefore, to the *Times* newspaper, where it was published under the title "An unpublished Poem by Milton," and with the signature as "J. M.," on the 16th of July, 1868. Immediately there arose a controversy on the subject, which lasted some weeks. Important and relevant evidence on the negative side came out at once. Mr. Bond and Mr. Rye of the British Museum, and Mr. W. Aldis Wright of Cambridge, with other authorities, at once declared the handwriting *not* to be Milton's,—to be so different from Milton's that it was inconceivable how anyone acquainted with Milton's hand could possibly mistake the one for the other. It was found also, on close examination of the dubious initial of the signature, that it was most probably not a "*J*"; and Mr. Bond made so sure that it was a P that, in sending to the *Times* (July 30) an exact transcript of the original, letter for letter, he gave the subscription as positively "*P. M.*, 10*ber*, 1647." These items of evidence at once arrested the tendency to agree with Mr. Morley in ascribing the poem to Milton. Nevertheless, as people had taken a liking for the quaint little thing itself, argument for the possibility of its being Milton's did not wholly cease; and I believe there are still some persons who think that, after all, it *may* be Milton's.

This is not the place for renewing the controversy in its whole extent; and I need only repeat my conviction that the sum of the evidence, external and internal, taken in every possible form of both kinds, is absolutely conclusive

against the hypothesis that the poem is Milton's. One item of the internal argument, however, does concern us here. It may be called the argument from the *its* test. I proposed this test at the time, and I still rely upon it. We have seen Milton's habit in respect of the word *its*. We have seen how wonderfully he eludes the very necessity for using such a word, how the word occurs but three times in all his poetry, and how in every other case, where the necessity for such a word is not eluded, he uses *his* or *her* where we should now use *its*. How stands the Epitaph in this respect? It consists of but fifty-four lines, and yet the word *its* occurs four times in it :—

> "Ere the day
> Budded forth *its* tender ray."
>
> "The thread of life untwisted is
> Into *its* first consistencies."
>
> "Infant nature cradled here
> In *its* principles appear."
>
> "This plant thus calcined into dust
> In *its* ashes rest it must,
> Until sweet Psyche," etc.

Can it be supposed that a pronominal form which Milton avoided so systematically that it occurs but *three* times in the whole body of his poetry, ranging over the entire fifty years of his literary life from 1624 to 1674, should have occurred *four* times in a single piece of fifty-four lines written by him in some one fell hour in December 1647? Must not the Epitaph have been written by one of those persons in Britain in 1647 who had adopted the word *its* regularly into their vocabulary, and whose thinking had taken on the peculiar syntactical trick which familiarity with the word prompts and facilitates? Milton, most conspicuously, was not one of them.

IV. SYNTAX AND IDIOM.

One of the most marked characteristics of Milton from first to last was his adoption and use of a highly disciplined syntax. One cannot pass from a reading in Spenser or a reading in Shakespeare to any of Milton's poems without a feeling of the fact. Accuracy, disciplined accuracy, is

discernible in the word-texture of all his poems. There is, however, a gradation chronologically. In the Minor Poems, grace, harmony, sweetness, and beauty of image and colouring, all but veil the strictness of the purely logical connexion of idea with idea and clause with clause. Sometimes even, as in parts of *Comus*, the Shakespearian syntax seems to suffice, or the syntax seems as easy as the Shakespearian, and it is only the unfailing perfection of the finish, with perhaps a greater slowness in the movement, that suggests the presence of a something different. When it is inquired what this is, one can only say, in reading the more level passages, that it consists in a greater scholarliness, a more habitual consciousness that there is a thing called syntax to trouble writers at all. One remembers here Milton's treatise of Latin Grammar, entitled *Accedence commenc't Grammar.* "Syntaxis or Construction," he there says, "consisteth either in the agreement of words together in number, gender, case, and person, which is called *concord*, or the *governing* of one the other in such case or mood as is to follow." Shakespeare, of course, knew as much, and could have discoursed about Syntaxis as well as about any other subject, if necessary; but, in fact, he had left his Syntaxis behind him at Stratford Grammar School, and went through the world practising Syntaxis without thinking about Syntaxis. Not so Milton. *Concord* and *government* were ideas of his daily drill, and, when he wrote English, he carried them with him. Hence that scholarly care, rather than mere Shakespearian ease, which we discern in the style of his Minor Poems, even where the ease is greatest. Then we may call it *finish*. Even in those Minor Poems, however, when the thought becomes more powerful or complex, the syntax passes farther away from the Shakespearian, and what was finish before becomes *weight* or *musical density*. Some of the most Miltonic passages in the Minor Poems exhibit this density of syntax. In the series of Sonnets written between 1640 and 1660 the density is even more apparent, from the necessary stringency of the Sonnet form itself; and these, like a chain of islets, bring us from the earlier poems to the great poems of the later life. In *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes*, the Miltonic, in syntax as in all else, is seen at its fullest. It is in them that Milton's most formed syntax is to be studied.

There is variety, no doubt. There are parts and passages of rich, or even sweet and simple beauty, as in the earlier poems, and where still the effect of the disciplined accuracy of idiom is that of consummate finish. There are other parts and passages, however, where the close syntactical regulation takes, as before, the form of compact musical weight. Finally, there are passages and parts which so pass all previous bounds, both in length of sentence and in multiplicity of ideas to be organised into one sentence, that Milton's syntactical art is taxed to its utmost, and even then, but for the harmonizing majesty of the verse, the resulting structure might be called not dense merely, but *contorted* or *gnarled*.

But we may be more precise. That highly-disciplined syntax which Milton favoured from the first, and to which he tended more and more, was, in fact, the classical syntax, or, to be more exact, an adaptation of the syntax of the Latin tongue. It could hardly fail to be so. The very notion of a syntax, or system of concord and government among words, seems to belong only to an inflected language; for what is concord but amicable correspondency of inflection, or government but enforced variation of inflection? It is only because English retains a few habits of inflection still that it can be said to have a syntax at all in any other sense than that of a usual way of ordering or arranging words; and, even now, questions in English syntax are often settled best practically, if a settlement is wanted, by a reference to Latin construction. If I say "Admitting that you are right, you will be blamed," or if I even venture on so hideous a variety of the same form as "Proceeding half a mile along the pathway, a magnificent cascade burst into view," who is to check me, or who is likely to check me, if it be not one who thinks of concord in the Latin participle and is shocked accordingly? Hence, in fact, the unrelated or misrelated participle is by far the most common form of English slip-shod at the present day. In Shakespeare's time, too, or in Milton's, any weakness in the native syntactical instinct that had come down from the times of the highly-inflected Old English either had to remain a weakness, an easy tolerance of variety, or had to be remedied by an importation of rule from the Latin. Now, whatever Shakespeare did on such occasions (and decided Latinisms

in construction are very rare in *him*), Milton did import rule from the Latin. Even in his Minor Poems, where the syntax is most like the easy native syntax of Shakespeare and the Elizabethans, Latin constructions and idioms, and even positive flakes of translated Latin, may be detected. But the Latinism grew upon him, and its increase seems to have kept pace with that very progress of his syntax, from scholarly finish to compact musical density, and so to occasional gnarled complexity, which we have described. In his middle life, it is to be remembered, Milton was a writer of great prose-pamphlets of laboured Latin, intended for European circulation. It was after this rebaptism in Latin that he returned to English in his *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson*. Need we wonder that, for this among other reasons, the Latinism of his English style there attained its maximum? Such, at all events, is the fact.

An example or two will verify what has been said. Let the scholarly reader observe microscopically the syntax of the following passages from *Paradise Lost*:—

"This was at first resolved,
If we were wise, against so great a foe
Contending, and so doubtful what might fall.
I laugh when those who at the spear are bold
And venturous, if that fail them, shrink, and fear
What yet they know must follow—to endure
Exile, and ignominy, or bonds, or pain,
The sentence of their conqueror. This is now
Our doom; which if we can sustain and bear,
Our Supreme Foe in time may much remit
His anger, and perhaps, thus far removed,
Not mind us not offending, satisfied
With what is punished."—II. 201-213.

"He, after Eve seduced, unminded slunk
Into the wood fast by, and, changing shape
To observe the sequel, saw his guileful act
By Eve, though all unweeting, seconded
Upon her husband—saw their shame that sought
Vain covertures; but, when he saw descend
The Son of God to judge them, terrified
He fled, not hoping to escape, but shun
The present—fearing, guilty, what his wrath
Might suddenly inflict; that past, returned

By night, and, listening where the hapless pair
Sat in their sad discourse and various plaint,
Thence gathered his own doom ; which understood
Not instant, but of future time, with joy
And tidings fraught, to Hell he now returned,
And at the brink of Chaos, near the foot
Of this new wondrous pontifice, unhoped
Met who to meet him came, his offspring dear."—x. 333-349.

Here what have we? A use, it is true, of certain native mechanisms, so that the syntax is part English; but these mechanisms aided, and all but supplanted, by Latin constructions. It is not only that Latin phrases and idioms are translated; it is that Milton bends, arranges, and builds up his own uninflected or scarce-inflected English on the system of the Latin syntax. Observe, generally, the fondness for those participial constructions by which the Latins saved conjunctions and connecting particles, and gave their syntax its character of brevity and strength. Such constructions abound even in the short pieces quoted, both in the form of the case relative and in that of the case absolute. Though the case absolute had survived in native English, one can see that in such instances as "*that past*," "*which understood*," it was really the Latin ablative absolute that was in Milton's mind.

Illustrations of the Latinism of Milton's construction and idiom might be endless; but the following may here suffice:—

SPECIAL LATINISMS.—"After Eve seduced," for "After the seduction of Eve," is one instance, already quoted, of a well-known special Latinism: "*Post urbem conditam.*" Mr. Abbott produces but one example of this formation from Shakespeare, and that a doubtful one. But it recurs in Milton. Thus:—"After the Tuscan mariners transformed" (*Com.* 48); "Never since created Man" (*P. L.*, I. 573); "After summons read" (*P. L.*, I. 798); "After Heaven seen" (*P. L.*, III. 552); "After his charge received" (*P. L.*, V. 248); "From his surmise proved false" (*P. L.*, IX. 333); "At that tasted fruit" (*P. L.*, X. 687); "In punished Man" (*P. L.*, X. 803); "Repenting him of Man depraved" (*P. L.*, XI. 886); "Since first her salutation heard" *P. R.*, II. 107). With these, as containing substantially the same idiom, may be associated such as the following:—

"For me be witness all the host of Heaven
If counsels different, or danger shunned
By me, have lost our hopes."—*P. L.*, I. 635-637.

"prevented by thy eyes put out."—*S. A.* 1103.

Among Milton's special Latinisms may be classed a good many of his case-absolute phrases; for, though the dative absolute was an Anglo-Saxon idiom, and the nominative absolute, as a recollection of it, is frequent in early and Elizabethan English, Milton's case-absolute seems often, as we have said, imagined in the Latin, *e.g.* :—

"till, the signal given,
Behold a wonder."—*P. L.*, I. 776, 777.

"Let us seek Death, or, he not found, supply
With our own hands his office."—*P. L.*, X. 1001, 1002.

Once or twice the accusative is used absolutely instead of the nominative, *e.g.*: "us dispossessed" (*P. L.*, VII. 142), "me overthrown" (*S. A.* 463).

MISCELLANEOUS LATINISMS.—The following may suggest the wealth of Latinisms, with sometimes a Græcism, scattered through Milton's text :—

"Spare to interpose them oft."—*Sonnet* XX.

"Peace is despaired;
For who can think submission?"—*P. L.*, I. 660, 661.

"Or of the Eternal coeternal beam
May I express thee unblamed?"—*P. L.*, III. 2, 3.

"Or hear'st thou rather pure Ethereal stream?"—
P. L., III. 7.

"I will clear their senses dark
What may suffice."—*P. L.*, III. 188, 189.

"aery shapes
Which Reason, joining or disjoining, frames
All what we affirm, or what deny."—*P. L.*, V. 105-107.

"on all sides to his aid was run
By Angels many and strong."—*P. L.*, VI. 335, 336.

"Vengeance is his, or whose he sole appoints."—
P. L., VI. 808.

"me higher argument remains."—*P. L.*, IX. 41-43.

> "Greedily she ingorged without restraint,
> And knew not eating death."—*P. L.*, IX. 791, 792.

> "Sagacious of his quarry from afar."—*P. L.*, X. 281.

> "more wakeful than to drowse."—*P. L.*, XI. 131.

ELLIPSES.—"The Elizabethan authors," says Dr. Abbott in his excellent *Shakespearian Grammar*, "objected to scarcely any ellipsis, provided the deficiency could be easily supplied from the context"; and, as respects Shakespeare, he illustrates the remark through fifteen pages of examples and comments. The ellipses in Milton are perhaps not so numerous as in Shakespeare; but they are frequent and interesting.

Some may be called *ellipses in thought*, inasmuch as what is omitted is some idea or link in the meaning which it is taken for granted the reader will supply for himself. An example is *Par. Lost*, II. 70-73:—

> "But perhaps
> The way seems difficult, and steep to scale
> With upright wing against a higher foe!
> Let such [as are of this opinion] bethink them," etc.

Of what are called mere *ellipses of expression*, or *grammatical ellipses* (though, strictly considered, these resolve themselves into ellipses of thought too), there is a great variety of kinds, not a few being really Latinisms.

Omission of the Nominative to a Verb.—This, which is not uncommon in Shakespeare and the other Elizabethans, Dr. Abbott attributes, in *them*, partly to a lingering sense of Old English verb-inflections, partly to the influence of Latin, partly to the rapidity of Elizabethan pronunciation, which slurred such nominatives as *I* and *he*. To which of these causes Milton's ellipses of the kind are most generally owing will be best judged from a few examples:—

> "Or wert thou that just Maid who once before
> Forsook the hated Earth, O tell me sooth,
> And camest [thou] again to visit us once more?"—
> *D. F. I.* 50-52.

> "His trust was with the Eternal to be deemed
> Equal in strength, and rather than be less
> [He] Cared not to be at all."—*P. L.*, II. 46-48.

"One Almighty is, from whom
All things proceed, and [they] up to him return."—
P. L., v. 469, 470.

"This is my Son beloved: in him [I] am pleased."—
P. R., I. 85.

Omission of the Verb "to be."—This, also Elizabethan, is pretty frequent (sometimes as a Latinism) in Milton, *e.g.*:—

"Hail, foreign wonder!
Whom certain these rough shades did never breed,
Unless [thou art] the goddess that," etc.—*Com.* 265-267.

"though my soul [is] more bent
To serve therewith my Maker."—*Sonnet* XIX

"The tempter, ere [he was] the accuser, of mankind."—
P. L., IV. 10.

"Though I [am] unpitied."—*P. L.*, IV. 375.

"pretending first
[It to be] Wise to fly pain."—*P. L.*, IV. 947, 948.

"and gav'st them names,
Needless [to be] to thee repeated."—*P. L.*, VII. 493, 494.

"Death as oft accused
Of tardy execution, since [it had been] denounced
The day of his offence."—*P. L.*, x. 852-854.

"though my pardon
[Be] No way assured."—*S. A.* 738, 739.

Omission of Antecedent.—Examples of this (generally Latinisms) are:—

"in bulk as large
As [those] whom the fables name of monstrous size."—
P. L., I. 196, 197.

"To find [one] who might direct his wandering flight."—
P. L., III. 631.

"and soon found of whom they spake
I am [he]."—*P. R.*, I. 262, 263.

Peculiar Miltonic Ellipsis.—This, which may also be resolved into a Latinism, is a peculiar omission of the word "*of*" by which a phrase compounded of an adjective and a substantive is made to do duty as an adjective. The Miltonic examples of it, though memorable, are few. I have noted the following:—

" He scarce had ceased when the superior Fiend
Was moving toward the shore; his ponderous shield,
Ethereal temper, massy, large, and round,
Behind him cast."—*P. L.*, I. 283-286.

" feathered mail,
Sky-tinctured grain."—*P. L.*, V. 284, 285.

" Brass, iron, *stony mould.*"—*P. L.*, VI. 576.

" Up led by thee,
Into the Heaven of Heavens I have presumed,
An earthly guest, and drawn empyreal air,
Thy tempering."—*P. L.*, VII. 12-15.

" Under his forming hands a creature grew,
Man-like, but *different sex.*"—*P. L.*, VIII. 470, 471.

Miscellaneous Ellipses.—The variety of these may be indicated by the following specimens. Some, it will be seen, are again Latinisms in reality:—

" Daily devours apace, and nothing said."—*Lycid.* 129.

" a place [of which it was] foretold [that it] should be."—
P. L., II. 830, 831.

" Man shall not quite be lost, but saved who will."—*P. L.*, III. 173.

" No sooner did thy dear and only Son
Perceive thee purposed not to doom frail Man
So strictly, but much more to pity inclined,
He . . . .
. . . . offered himself to die
For Man's offence."—*P. L.*, III. 403-410.

" stars
Numberless, as thou seest, and how they move."—
P. L., III. 718, 719.

" whereof here needs no account,
But rather to tell how," etc.—*P. L.*, IV. 235, 236.

" Hast thou turned the least of these
To flight—or, if to fall, but that they rise
Unvanquished."—*P. L.*, VI. 284-286.

" greater now in thy return
Than from the giant-Angels."—*P. L.*, VII. 604, 605.

" Such pleasure she reserved,
Adam relating, she sole auditress."—*P. L.*, VIII. 50, 51.

"punished in the shape he sinned [in]."—*P. L.*, x. 516.

"Which argues [thee] overjust and self-displeased
For self-offence."—*S. A.*, 514, 515.

"Knowing [myself], as needs I must, by thee betrayed."—*S.A.* 840.

CONSTRUCTION CHANGED BY CHANGE OF THOUGHT.—Perhaps there is no subtler observation in Dr. Abbott's Shakespearian Grammar than that which occasioned his invention or adoption of this useful name for a rather frequent and troublesome, but very interesting, class of Shakespearian idioms (*Sh. Gr.* § 415). It is all the more welcome because it is a recognition of the more general and far-reaching principle that all the so-called Figures of Speech, including all grammatical variations and irregularities, however minute, are to be referred ultimately to equivalent turns, modifications, changes of manœuvre, in the act of thinking.

First let us give two of Dr. Abbott's Shakespearian instances :—

"Purpose is but the slave to memory,
Which now, like fruit unripe, *sticks* on the tree,
But *fall* unshaken when they mellow be."—*Hamlet*, iii. 2.

Here the change of number from *sticks* to *fall* evidently indicates a change in Shakespeare's act of thinking as he wrote. He was first thinking of one piece of fruit, or of fruit as one mass, sticking to a tree; but next moment he sees the shower of separate pieces of fruit falling numerously. Again, in the passage

"Rather proclaim it, Westmoreland, through our host,
That he which hath no stomach to this fight
Let him depart,"—*Henry V.*, iv. 3,

we see the King first only telling Westmoreland what to proclaim, but immediately, in his indignation at the idea called up, passing into the direct imperative, as if he were facing the army and making the proclamation himself.

If the reader will now go back on our collection of Miltonic ellipses he will be able to explain some of the most puzzling of them on this principle. Here, however, are a few cases in which the *afterthought*, or *change of front*, if we may so call it, in Milton's mind, and the corresponding

change of construction in the sentence, may be better observed :—

> "the stars
> That Nature hung in heaven, and filled their lamps
> With everlasting oil."—*Com.* 197-199.

> "There *does* a sable cloud
> *Turn* forth her silver lining to the Night,
> And *casts* a gleam over this tufted grove."—*Com.* 223-225.

> "Much less can bird with beast or fish with fowl
> So well converse, nor with the ox the ape."—
> *P. L.*, VIII. 395, 396.

> "[O flowers] . . . *which* I bred up with tender hand
> From the first opening bud, and gave *ye* names."—
> *P. L.*, XI. 276, 277.

> "Who was that just man, *whom* had not Heaven
> Rescued, *had* in his righteousness been lost."—
> *P. L.*, XI. 681, 682.

> "Let no man seek
> Henceforth to be foretold what shall befall
> Him or his children—evil, he may be sure,
> Which *neither* his foreknowing can prevent,
> *And* he the future evil shall no less
> In apprehension than in substance feel
> Grievous to bear."—*P. L.*, XI. 770-776.

Change of tense is a very natural form of this curious kind of change of construction, thus :—

> "It *was* the winter wild
> While the heaven-born child
> All meanly wrapt in the rude manger *lies*."—*Od. Nat.* 29-31.

> "And the full wrath beside
> Of vengeful justice *bore* for our excess,
> And *seals* obedience first with wounding smart."—
> *Upon the Circ.* 23-25.

> "I *did* but prompt the age to quit their clogs
> By the known rules of ancient liberty,
> When straight a barbarous noise *environs* me."—*Sonnet* XII.

> "*Took* leave, and toward the coast of Earth beneath,
> Down from the ecliptic, sped with hoped success,
> *Throws* his steep flight in many an aery wheel,
> Nor *staid* till on Niphates' top he *lights*."—
> *P. L.*, III. 739-742.

INTERCHANGES OF PARTS OF SPEECH.—These, so common among the Elizabethans, are frequent enough in Milton. The most frequent by far is the adjective for adverb: *e.g.* "Meanwhile inhabit *lax*, ye Powers of Heaven" (*P. L.*, VII. 162), repeated throughout in such instances as *obscure* for *obscurely*, *chief* for *chiefly*, *sager* for *more sagely*, etc. Next in frequency is adjective for substantive: *e.g.* "those rebellious" (*P. L.*, I. 71), "great or bright infers not excellence" (*P. L.*, VIII. 90-91), "the magnetic" (*P. R.*, II. 168). Of verb for noun "without disturb" (*P. L.*, VI. 549) is an example; and there are others. "As they sat *recline*" (*P. L.*, IV. 333), "made so *adorn* for thy delight" (*P. L.*, VIII. 576), and "sight so *deform*" (*P. L.*, XI. 494), are not to be mistaken as instances of verb for adjective, the first and third being simple appropriations of the Latin adjectives *reclinis* and *deformis*, and the second of the Italian *adorno*.

IRREGULARITIES IN CONCORD AND GOVERNMENT.—Although Milton was more strict in his syntax than the Elizabethans generally had been, instances do occur in him of Elizabethanisms of this glaring kind.

Singular Verb with Plural Nominative.—This is frequent in the third person plural; where, however, it is not merely a license or irregularity, but rather a relic of Old English grammar. While the old Southern dialect had *eth* for the termination of the third person plural indicative present of verbs (*loveth*) and the old Midland had *en* (*loven*), the old Northern had *s* or *es* (*loves*). This last still persists in vernacular Scotch: *e.g.* "Sailors *has* hard lives." Now, after the standard English had, in the main, dropt inflection in the plural of verbs (saying *love* in all the three persons), a tradition of the northern inflection in *s* was kept up in some usages of the third person plural. Instances in Shakespeare are numerous; and Milton gives such as the following:—

"His praise and glory *was* in Israel known."—*Ps.* CXIV. 6.

"Bitter constraint and sad occasion dear
Compels me to disturb your season due."—*Lycid.* 6, 7.

"Thy worth and skill *exempts* thee from the throng."—
Sonnet XIII.

"hill and valley *rings*."—*P. L.*, II. 495.

"Kingdom and power and glory *appertains*."—*P. L.*, VI. 815.

"Sorrows and labours, opposition, hate,
Attends thee, scorns, reproaches, injuries,
Violence and stripes, and lastly cruel death."—
P. R., IV. 386-388.

Here is one striking example of a similar liberty of concord *in the first person*, where the explanation is not persistence of archaic habit, but bold purpose by the writer himself:—

"Both Death and I
Am found eternal."—*P. L.*, X. 815, 816.

Explicable on the same principle, or on that of change of construction with change of thought, is this *false concord of person in a relative clause*:—

"Hail, foreign wonder!
Whom certain these rough shades did never breed,
Unless [thou art] the goddess that in rural shrine
Dwell'st here with Pan."—*Com.* 265-268.

The following is an instance of what we should now call *false concord of case in apposition*:—

"who rebelled
With Satan: *he* who envies now thy state."—*P. L.*, VI. 899, 900.

Each is often used by Shakespeare in a plural way, as equivalent to *Both* or *All*: e.g. "What each of them by the other *lose*" (*Coriol.* iii. 2), "Each in her sleep *themselves* so beautify" (*R. of L.*, 404). So Milton:—

"Each in *their* crystal sluice."—*P. L.*, V. 133.

"Each in *their* several active spheres."—*P. L.*, V. 477.

"Cattle and creeping things and beasts of the Earth,
Each in *their* kind."—*P. L.*, VII. 452, 453.

"All flesh,
Corrupting each *their* way."—*P. L.*, XI. 888, 889.

Occasional violations of our present rules of government occur among the pronouns. "Save *He* who reigns above" (*Par. Lost*, II. 814) is a bold use of the nominative for the objective, after precedents in Shakespeare; and the frequency of *ye* for the usual objective *you* has been noted in our

remarks on Milton's peculiarities of inflection. That idiom, however, is not extinct yet.——The following instances of the objective relative *whom* are worth noting :—

> "Belial came last; than *whom* a Spirit more lewd
> Fell not from Heaven."—*P. L.*, I. 490, 491.

> "Beelzebub . . . than *whom*,
> Satan except, none higher sat."—*P. L.*, II. 299, 300.

> "Abdiel, than *whom* none with more zeal adored
> The Deity."—*P. L.*, V. 805, 806.

Theoretically *whom* should be *who* in each of these cases (*e.g.* the first = "Belial came last, and a more lewd Spirit than *he* fell not from Heaven"); but the ear revolts from "*than who.*" *Than* is used prepositionally in such cases.

OTHER PECULIARITIES AMONG THE PRONOUNS.—One of the most frequent and interesting of these is the use of the possessives of the personal pronouns—*my, mine, our; thy, thine, your; his, her, their*—as true possessive cases with the full function of our equivalents for them—*of me, of us, of thee, of you, of him, of her, of them.* Thus they are often antecedents to relatives: *e.g.*:—

> "*His* high will
> *Whom* we resist."—*P. L.*, I. 161, 162.

> "Say, Muse, *their* names then known, who first, who last . . .
> Came."—*P. L.*, I. 376-379.

> "*my* folly, who have profaned
> The mystery of God."—*S. A.* 377, 378.

This usage has not yet gone out in modern English poetry, though it has become much rarer than it was among the Elizabethans, probably because we have come to regard *my, thy, his,* etc., rather as adjectives than as possessive cases of substantives. Indeed we should hardly make an antecedent even of the possessive case of a noun. "The *man's* horse *who* was here just now" would seem an odd phrase. Probably Milton's habit of referring to Latin constructions made it natural for him to perpetuate this particular Elizabethanism both with the possessives of nouns and with the possessives of pronouns. We see this recollectiveness of Latin constructions, at all events, in a still stronger variety of the

same usage, which is not uncommon in Milton, and which (if I may judge from the absence of equally strong Elizabethan examples in Dr. Abbott's Shakespearian Grammar) was more Miltonic than Elizabethan. It is the actual junction of the possessives, no less than of the nominatives or the objectives, in agreement with adjectives and participles: *e.g.* :—

> "*Wondering* at my flight and change
> To this high exaltation, suddenly
> *My* guide was gone."—*P. L.*, v. 89-91.

Here it is not the "guide" that wonders, but Eve, the speaker; or, in other wórds, "*wondering*" agrees with "*my*," just as if it had been "*of me wondering*." So in the following instances, and more strikingly :—

> "these tidings from the Earth,
> Which *your* sincerest care could not prevent,
> *Foretold* so lately what would come to pass."—
> *P. L.*, x. 36-38.
>
> "Therefore so abject is *their* punishment,
> *Disfiguring* not God's likeness, but their own."—
> *P. L.*, XI. 520, 521.

In Latin these would be quite normal; but, if met with in an exercise in English composition in the present day, they would be set down as examples of slip-shod of the "misrelated participle" variety.——By-the-bye, the nearest approach to an actual case of misrelated or unrelated participle that I have observed in Milton is the following in a speech of Dalila :—

> "First *granting*, as I do, it was a weakness
> In me, but incident to all our sex,
> Curiosity, inquisitive, importune
> Of secrets, then with like infirmity
> To publish them—both common female faults—
> Was it not weakness also to make known
> For importunity, that is for naught,
> Wherein consisted all thy strength and safety?"—
> *S. A.* 773-780.

Granting, however, is one of a small group of participial forms (*seeing*, *touching*, *concerning*, *respecting*, *judging*, *considering*) to which custom concedes this slovenliness; and it says much for Milton's care that instances like the above

are rare in his verse. It may be taken as an elliptical case-absolute.

PREPOSITIONS.—That multiplicity of meanings for the common prepositions *of*, *to*, etc., on which Dr. Abbott has commented as one of the characteristics of Elizabethan English persists in Milton, though not to the same extent, nor perhaps to an extent beyond the practice of poets of our own time. I will note but a few instances. "And *of* pure now purer air meets his approach" (*Par. Lost*, IV. 153, 154) seems to present *of* in a sense like *from;* "may *of* purest Spirits be found no ingrateful food" (*Par. Lost*, V. 406, 407) is one of the passages in which *of* serves for our present *by;* and "Greet her *of* a lovely son" (*March. Winch.* 23) gives *of* in the sense of *on account of.* In "*to* the twelve that shone in Aaron's breastplate" (*Par. Lost*, III. 597, 598) *to* is equivalent to *through all the rest of*, or *to the complete number of;* in "So much hath Hell debased, and pain enfeebled me, *to* what I was in Heaven" (*Par. Lost*, IX. 487, 488), it has the sense of *in comparison with* (see also *S. A.* 950); and in "God will restore him eyesight *to* his strength" (*S. A.* 1503) it has the sense of *in addition to.* "Which, *but* herself, not all the Stygian powers" (*Par. Lost*, II. 875) is an example of *but* used prepositionally for *except.* An anomalous use of *twixt*, applying it to more than two objects, is found in "*Twixt* upper, nether, and surrounding fires" (*Par. Lost*, I. 346).

ADVERBS AND CONJUNCTIONS.—The most frequent difference from our present English here is the use of the conjunction *that* for *so that.* It was a transmitted Elizabethanism, well conserved by Milton: *e.g.*

"And lack of load made his life burdensome,
That, even to his last breath (there be that say't),
As he were pressed to death, he cried 'More weight.'"—
Hobson, No. 2.

"Untwisting all the chains that tie
The hidden soul of harmony,
That Orpheus' self may heave his head."—*L'All* 143-145.

"Like Maia's son he stood
And shook his plumes, *that* heavenly fragrance filled
The circuit wide."—*P. L.*, V. 285-287.

There are other now unusual senses of the conjunction *that*: e.g. *Par. Lost*, III. 278, where it seems to mean *inasmuch as*. In the lines *On Shakespeare* we have virtually *whilst that* for *whilst;* and elsewhere I think we have *that* redundant.

As appears in several senses not now common. It serves for *that* or *as that*: e.g. "a stripling cherub . . . such *as* in his face youth smiled celestial" (*Par. Lost*, III. 637, 638: compare *Par. Reg.*, II. 97, 98); also for *as if*: e.g. "into strange vagaries fell, *as* they would dance" (*Par. Lost*, VI. 614, 615); also for *in proportion as*: e.g. "For bliss, *as* thou hast part, to me is bliss" (*Par. Lost*, IX. 879); also for *such as* (*Il Pens.* 163-165) and *such that it* or *so that it* (*Od. Nat.* 96-98).

Of *but* for *than* "No sooner blown *but* blasted" (*D. F. I.* 1) is an early example; and the idiom recurs (*Par. Lost*, III. 344, 347, XI. 822, 824, etc.) In *Par. Lost*, V. 674, and perhaps elsewhere, *and* has a sense of *if* or *though*.——Milton uses the word *both* where the reference is to more objects than two: *e.g.* "The God that made *both* sky, air, earth, and heaven" (*Par. Lost*, IV. 722); and he takes the same liberty with *neither*: e.g. "Of neither sea, nor shore, nor air, nor fire" (*Par. Lost*, II. 912).——The variety of his uses of *or*, *nor*, *neither*, etc., may be inferred from these examples, in some of which, however, change of construction by change of thought bears a part:—

> "*Or* [either] envy, *or* what reserve, forbids to taste?"—
> *P. L.*, V. 61.

> "Much less can bird with beast *or* fish with fowl
> So well converse, *nor* with the ox the ape."—
> *P. L.*, VIII. 395, 396.

> "*Or* [either] east *or* west."—*P. L.*, X. 685.

> "Which *neither* his foreknowing can prevent,
> *And* he the future evil shall," etc.—*P. L.*, XI. 773, 774.

> "*neither* thus heartened *or* dismayed."—*P. R.*, I. 268.

> "I bid not, *or* forbid."—*P. R.*, I. 495.

TRANSPOSITIONS AND INVERSIONS.—Occasionally some very striking inversion or transposition of the usual order of words in a sentence is met with in Milton: *e.g.*—

"Into this wild Abyss the wary Fiend
Stood on the brink of Hell and looked a while,
Pondering his voyage."—*P. L.*, II. 917-919.

"Nor stood unmindful Abdiel to annoy
The Atheist crew."—*P. L.*, VI. 369, 370.

"That whom they hit none on their feet might stand."—
P. L., VI. 592.

"For in their looks
Much reason, and in their actions, oft appears."—
P. L., IX. 558, 559.

"Reject not, then, what offered means who knows
But God hath set before us to return thee
Home to thy country."—*S. A.* 516-518.

Such transpositions are sometimes instances merely of Milton's freedom in English, which led him, like other writers, into the word-figures called by the rhetoricians *Hyperbaton*, *Anastrophe*, *Dialysis*, etc.; but very often they are patent Latinisms. Without dwelling longer, however, on the effects of Milton's Latinism *per se* on the order of his syntax, let us briefly inquire how far another cause may have co-operated in forming that structure of sentence and style which we can recognise as Miltonic.

Few services of criticism to Literature have been greater than Wordsworth's famous onslaught on what he called *Poetic Diction*. Under this name, he denounced the notion,—made prevalent, as he maintained, by the practice of the English eighteenth-century poets, from Dryden onwards, with few exceptions,—that poetry consists in, or requires, an artificial mode of language, differing from the language of ordinary life, or of prose. The censure branched into several applications; but one of them concerned mere syntax. It was a mistake, Wordsworth contended, to suppose that Verse requires deviations from the natural prose order of words, or that such are legitimate in Verse. Unfortunately, the very name *Verse* had suggested the contrary; and, the difficulties of versifiers in adjusting their sense to the mechanical restraints of metre and rhyme having led to all kinds of syntactical tricks, such as the placing of an adjective after its noun, the tugging of a verb to the end of the line for the rhyme's sake, etc., these had been accepted, and Verse had come, in general, to be a kind of distorted

Prose. Here, as in other things, Wordsworth held, a reform was needed. It was necessary to teach people afresh that proper verse-syntax is not distorted prose-syntax, or syntax relieved from any of the conditions imposed upon good prose, but only syntax with all the conditions of good prose retained and certain other and more exquisite and difficult conditions superadded.——So far Wordsworth; and certainly his precept and example, in this respect, were most wholesome. Some English poets, indeed, coevals of Wordsworth, and his partners in the general crusade against "Poetic Diction," could not emancipate themselves, as he did, from the custom of a syntax mechanically inverted to suit the mere exigencies of metre and rhyme. On the whole, however, nothing has been more remarkable in the best English poetry of the present century than the return to a natural syntax, or even to the ordinary prose order of the words. Tennyson is here conspicuous. No writer is more essentially and continually the poet than he; hardly a line of his but contains that very something that distinguishes the poet from the prosaist; and yet it is not in the syntax that this *differentia* appears, and often, for many lines together, the words fall exactly and punctiliously into their ordinary prose places.——Not the less does it appear, both from a theoretical consideration of the subject, and from a study of the actual syntax of our truest poets, Tennyson and Wordsworth himself included, that the precept, as it was first put forth by Wordsworth, was too absolute. Besides those illegitimate inversions of prose-syntax which arise from a lazy or slovenly forcing of the metre and rhyme, there certainly are other inversions natural to verse as such, and not illegitimate. These seem to be of two sorts :—(1) There are inversions natural to the peculiar elevation of mood or feeling which prompts to verse and which verse presupposes. After all, syntax has its root in thought, and every state of mind has its own syntax. This is seen within prose itself. "Great is Diana of the Ephesians" is a different construction from "Diana of the Ephesians is great," simply because the *thought* is not the same. And so, in prose itself, there are all varieties of syntax, from the regularly-repeated concatenation of subject, copula, and predicate, natural to the coolest statement of facts and propositions, on to the irregular rhythm of complex meditation and emotion, verging on verse, and in fact

often passing into verse. Nor, when the express limit is passed, and one leaves prose avowedly for verse, is the variability of the syntax with the movement of the thought or meaning so wholly concluded already that there can be no natural variation farther. Verse is itself a proclamation that the mood of the highest prose moments is to be prolonged and sustained; and the very devices that constitute verse not only serve for the prolongation of the mood, but occasion perpetual involutions of it and incalculable excitements. (2) Study of beauty of all kinds is natural to every artist; and the poet, when he comes to be an artist in verse, will seek beauty in sound. Here, too, though we call it art, nature dictates. The writer in verse may lawfully aim at musical effects on the ear not consistent with prose-syntax. In fact, this is not a distinct principle from the last, but only a particular implication of that principle, worthy of separate notice.

The syntax of Milton's poetry certainly *is* affected by the verse to a larger extent than we might guess from Wordsworth's enthusiastic references to him as the perfect model for poets at the very time when he was expounding his Reform of Poetic Diction. In no poet do we see the movement of ideas, and therefore the order of the words, swayed more manifestly by that elevation of feeling, that glow of mood, which comes upon the poet when he has risen above "the cool element of prose," and is "soaring in the high region of his fancies with his garland and singing-robes about him." Indeed all through his life the leading characteristic of Milton's mind was that it could not be prosaic. He lived in song; it was his most natural mode of speech. Even in his prose-writings, all that were not mere hackwork, he every now and then spurns the ground, grows metrical, and begins to ascend. And so, when he actually was in his proper element of verse, his thoughts came in an order ruled not only by the logic of custom and reason, or by that modified by the Latinism of his syntax as it would have told in prose, but also by the conditions of roused feeling musically moved. In the following passage of *At a Solemn Music* is there not an inversion of ordinary syntax greater in amount, and more subtle in kind, than can be debited to Latin habits of construction or to any other cause than the verse-excitement?

"Blest pair of Sirens, pledges of Heaven's joy,
Sphere-born harmonious sisters, Voice and Verse,
Wed your divine sounds, and mixed power employ,
Dead things with inbreathed sense able to pierce;
And to our high-raised phantasy present
That undisturbèd song of pure concent,
Aye sung before the sapphire-coloured throne
To him that sits thereon,
With saintly shout and solemn jubilee;
Where the bright Seraphim in burning row
Their loud uplifted angel-trumpets blow,
And the Cherubic host in thousand quires
Touch their immortal harps of golden wires,
With those just Spirits that wear victorious palms
Hymns devout and holy psalms,
Singing everlastingly."

In this connexion we may note the frequency with which the adjective *old* is put after its substantive. The word *old* occurs about sixty times in the poems; and nineteen times it occurs in this manner. "And last of kings and queens and *heroes old*" is, I think, the first case (*Vac. Ex.* 47); in the same piece we have "*A Sibyl old*" (69); after which we have "*Melibœus old*" (*Com.* 822), "*Bellerus old*" (*Lyc.* 160), "*Kishon old*" (*Ps.* LXXXIII. 37), "*Saturn old*" (*P. L.*, I. 519), "*heroes old*" again (*P. L.*, I. 552), "*warriors old*" (*P. L.*, I. 565), "*Mount Casius old*" (*P. L.*, II. 593), "*the Anarch old*" (*P. L.*, II. 988), "*Tiresias and Phineus, prophets old*" (*P. L.*, III. 36), "*Darkness old*" (*P. L.*, III. 421), "*fables old*" (*P. L.*, XI. 11), "*kings and heroes old*" again (*P. L.*, XI. 243), "*Salem old*" (*P. R.*, II. 21), "*seers old*" (*P. R.*, III. 15), "*prophets old*" again (*P. R.*, III. 178), "*Ninus old*" (*P. R.*, III. 276), and "*giants old*" (*S. A.* 148).

V. MILTON'S VERSIFICATION AND HIS PLACE IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH VERSE.

Although the terms of classical Prosody—*Iambus*, *Trochee*, *Spondee*, *Dactyl*, *Anapæst*, *Tribrach*, etc.—may be applied to English verse effectively enough on the principle of taking accented syllables for longs and unaccented for shorts, there is a superior convenience in some respects in the mode

of scanning English verse adopted by Dr. Latham in his work on the English Language. Let *a* stand for an accented syllable, and *x* for an unaccented one: then for the Iambus we have *xa*, for the Trochee *ax*, for the Spondee *aa*, for the Dactyl *axx*, for the Anapæst *xxa*, for the Tribrach *xxx*, etc.; and we have the means of constructing a formula which shall express the metre of any given line of English verse. Thus, instead of saying of the line "Dearly bought the hidden treasure" that it consists of four Trochees, or is Trochaic Dimeter or Trochaic Quaternarius, we may say that it is of the formula 4 *ax*; instead of saying of the line "The Assyrian came down like a wolf on the fold" that it consists of four Anapæsts, we may say that it is of the formula 4 *xxa*; and, instead of saying that a normal line of our ordinary blank verse consists of five Iambi, we can say that its formula is 5 *xa*. With the help of such additional symbols as + for a supernumerary syllable and – for a syllable, or part of a foot, in defect, we can express the peculiarities for which the terms *hypermetrical*, *catalectic*, etc., are used in classical Prosody. We shall employ this mode of notation, with some extensions, in what follows.

On the merest general survey of English Poetry in respect of its Verse-mechanism, one discerns two important features in which it contrasts with the Poetry of the Greeks and Latins, in addition to that feature of contrast which is the most obvious of all: viz. the liberty and frequency of Rhyme:—(1) English Verse is prevailingly Iambic, or of the *xa* metre. In Classical Poetry we have the Dactylic Hexameter for epic, narrative, and didactic purposes, the Iambic Trimeter or Iambic Senarius for the purposes of the Tragic Drama, and the same, with Trochaic and other licences and varied ranges of measure, for the purposes of Comedy; and these metres, with that variation of the first which consists of Elegiacs or alternate Hexameters and Pentameters, share the bulk of Greek and Latin Poetry among them, while other miscellaneous metres and combinations are used by the Greek and Latin lyrists. In English Verse, on the other hand, the *xa* metre is overwhelmingly the most frequent. Trochaic, Dactylic, and Anapæstic measures occur occasionally in our lyric poetry; but the Iambic is all but our metrical factotum. Nay, among Iambic measures, we have tended mainly to one in

particular. Though a good deal of our best-known poetry from Chaucer till now is in Iambic Octosyllabics or the 4 *xa* formula, much more of it is in Iambic Decasyllabics or the 5 *xa* formula. In the form of our common blank verse, or in the older form of heroic rhyming couplets, we have made this 5 *xa* metre suit for the narrative and didactic purposes to which the Greeks and Latins appropriated the Dactylic Hexameter or 6 *axx*; we have made it suit also for the purposes of the Tragic Drama, for which they employed the Iambic Trimeter or 6 *xa*, and for the purposes of Comedy, for which they used that verse more laxly and with many licences; besides which, we use the same 5 *xa* largely for various purposes in rhyming stanzas. (2.) In what has just been said another fact is involved: to wit, that the English ear has not hitherto shown itself capable of sustaining easily or continuously verse of such length of line as the classic ear favoured. There are specimens in our older poetry of verse in 6 *xa*, or even longer measures; Tennyson in his *Maud* has introduced a rhyming variation of the Dactylic Hexameter, and elsewhere he has given us poems in 8 *ax*—; and there have been similar experiments by other recent English poets. Still the fact remains that, while the Greeks and Romans liked 6 *axx* or 6 *xa* or yet longer measures, we do not generally, in continuous poetry, go beyond 5 *xa*. This also is a fact worth noting. How is it that, while on the Greek stage the tragic dialogue was in complete Iambic Trimeters, which to our reading are 6 *xa*, our English blank verse, used for the same dramatic purpose, and for other purposes besides, gives five Iambi willingly, but shrinks from a sixth?

How far Milton conformed to the customs of English Verse which he found established, and in what respects he innovated upon these, will appear best after a chronological view of his Poems in the matter of their versification :—

EARLIEST PIECES: 1624.

Paraphrase on Psalm CXIV.—Ordinary rhyming Heroics (Iambic Decasyllabics) or the 5 *xa* couplet; with one couplet 5 *xa* +.

Paraphrase on Psalm CXXXVI.—Ordinary rhyming Iambic Octosyllabics, or the 4 *xa* couplet; with a general Trochaic or *ax* effect, arising from the fact that a good many of the lines, including the refrain, omit the initial unaccented syllable.

THE CAMBRIDGE PERIOD: 1625—1632.

On the Death of a Fair Infant: 1626.—A seven-line rhyming stanz , the first six lines 5 *xa*, the seventh line an Alexandrine or 6 *xa*. It differs only in this 6 *xa* ending from the "Rhyme Royal" of the prosodians, used by Chaucer (*Clerk's Tale*, *Troilus and Cresseide*, etc.), by Spenser (*Ruines of Time*, *Hymn of Heavenly Love*, etc.), and by Shakespeare (*Lucrece*).

At a Vacation Exercise: 1628.—Ordinary rhyming Heroics.

On the Morning of Christ's Nativity.—Introduction in same stanza as *On the Death of a Fair Infant*; but "The Hymn" in a peculiar rhyming eight-line stanza of combined 3 *xa*, 4 *xa*, 5 *xa*, and 6 *xa*.

The Passion.—Same stanza as *On the Death of a Fair Infant*.

Song on May Morning.—Ten lines of combined 5 *xa* and 4 *xa*, in rhyming couplets; with a Trochaic or *ax* effect in some of the lines.

On Shakespeare: 1630.—Ordinary rhyming Heroics.

On the University Carrier: 1630-1.—Ordinary rhyming Heroics.

Another on the Same: 1630-1.—Ordinary rhyming Heroics.

Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester: 1631.—Ordinary Octosyllabic Iambics, or 4 *xa* couplets, as in *Paraphrase of Psalm CXXXVI.*; with the same frequent Trochaic or *ax* effect from the omission of the initial unaccented syllable.

Sonnets I. and II.—Both in 5 *xa* and after Italian precedents.

THE HORTON PERIOD: 1632—1638.

L'Allegro and *Il Penseroso*.—Both mainly in ordinary Octosyllabic Iambics, or 4 *xa* couplets, with the frequent Trochaic effect of a line in which the initial unaccented syllable is missing; but each Poem beginning with an introductory lyric of ten lines of combined 3 *xa* (or 3 *xa* +) and 5 *xa* (or 5 *xa* +).

Arcades.—Three lyrics or songs, in 4 *xa*, 3 *xa*, and 2 *xa*, variously rhymed, and with a frequent Trochaic or *ax* effect; together with a speech in ordinary rhymed Heroics, or the 5 *xa* couplet.

At a Solemn Music.—A single burst of twenty-eight lines of combined 3 *xa*, 4 *xa*, 5 *xa*, and 6 *xa*, rhyming irregularly in pairs.

On Time.—A single burst of twenty-two lines of combined 3 *xa*, 4 *xa*, 5 *xa*, and 6 *xa*, rhyming irregularly in pairs.

Upon the Circumcision.—A complex rhyming stanza of fourteen lines of combined 2 *xa*, 3 *xa*, and 5 *xa*.

Comus: 1634.—The dialogue in the ordinary dramatic blank verse of 5 *xa*, varied by 5 *xa* + (the first time of Milton's use of Blank Verse); with one passage, however (lines 495-512), in ordinary rhyming Heroics or the 5 *xa* couplet. The interspersed lyrical pieces of two sorts, viz.: 1. considerable passages of *recitative* in ordinary Octosyllabics or the 4 *xa* couplet, with the customary Trochaic liberty in many lines, and occasionally an elongation into Heroics or the 5 *xa* measure. 2. *Songs*

proper in combined 2 *xa*, 3 *xa*, 4 *xa*, 5 *xa*, and 6 *xa*, variously rhymed, and often with a Trochaic liberty in the lines.

Lycidas: 1637.—With the exception of the last eight lines, which form a separate stanza in the Ottava Rima (5 *xa*) of Ariosto, Tasso, and other poets, this pastoral is written in a peculiar style, which may be called "The free musical paragraph." The poet, we see, had not restricted himself beforehand by any rule, unless it were that the measure was to be Iambic or *xa*, and that the poem should on the whole be in rhyme. Accordingly the poem is an exquisite example of a kind of verse which theorists might perhaps pronounce the most perfect and natural of any—that in which the mechanism is elastic, or determined from moment to moment by the swell or shrinking of the meaning or feeling. Most of the lines are in 5 *xa*, but ever and anon this is shortened to 3 *xa*; the rhymes are occasionally in couplets, but are more frequently at longer intervals, as if running into stanzas; sometimes a rhyme affects but two lines, but sometimes it is extended through three or four,—once even through six in the same paragraph; while occasionally there is a line not rhyming at all, but so cunningly introduced that the absence of the rhyme is not felt.

MIDDLE LIFE (PERIOD OF PROSE POLEMICS): 1640—1660.

Sixteen English Sonnets (Sonnets VIII.-XXIII. of the general series): 1642-1658.—These, like Sonnets I. and II., are all after the Italian form of the Sonnet in its authorized varieties (see Introduction to the Sonnets, II. 276-281).—The piece *On the Forcers of Conscience*, belonging to the same series, is a Sonnet with a peculiar prolongation.—The metre in the Sonnets is, of course, always 5 *xa*; but in the "tail" or "prolongation" of the Sonnet in the last-named piece two of the lines are in 3 *xa*.

Scraps of Translated Verse in the Prose-Pamphlets.—These are all in the ordinary Blank Verse of 5 *xa*.

Horace, Ode I. V., Translated.—An unrhymed piece of sixteen lines, in alternate pairs of 5 *xa* (or 5 *xa* +) and 3 *xa*.

Psalms LXXX.-LXXXVIII.: 1648.—All in four-line stanzas of alternate 4 *xa* and 3 *xa*, or Iambic "eights and sixes": differing from the so-called Service Metre only in the fact that the first line of each stanza generally rhymes with the third, as well as the second with the fourth.

Psalms I.-VIII.: 1653.—Experiments in various metres and combinations of rhyme, no two alike.—Psalm I. is in ordinary rhymed Heroics or the 5 *xa* couplet; the others are in various rhymed stanzas, but all the lines in the *xa* metre, ranging from 2 *xa* or 2 *xa* + to 5 *xa* or 5 *xa* +.

LATER LIFE: 1660—1674.

Paradise Lost: 1667.—Blank Verse of the established 5 *xa* or 5 *xa* +

measure; the use of which kind of verse for an Epic Poem was regarded by Milton himself as a great innovation upon English practice.

Paradise Regained: 1671.—Ordinary Blank Verse of 5 *xa* or 5 *xa* + continued.

Samson Agonistes: 1671.—Ordinary Blank Verse of 5 *xa* or 5 *xa* + continued, save in the choruses and lyrical parts of the soliloquies of Samson. In these, as Milton has himself explained (see his Preface to the Poem), he held himself released from all rule, and versified as he liked, with a view to produce in English something of the effect of the choruses in Greek Tragedy. In the main, however, the novelty of the versification in these lyrical parts does not consist in mixture of metres, but only in the use of a blank verse of varying lengths of line in the habitual Iambic or *xa* metre, from 2 *xa* to 6 *xa* at pleasure. Occasionally, indeed, in a whole line, or in part of a line, there is an Anapæstic or Dactylic character, or a greater deviation from the Iambic than is normal; but the very rareness of such instances at a time when Miltón was avowedly free from all law, save that of his own ear, proves how difficult it was for him to get away from his normal *xa* measure, with its customary *ax* variation. It is perhaps more remarkable that, while the verse of these choral and lyric passages of intermingled short and long lines is generally Blank, like that of the dialogue, and though Milton had publicly taken farewell of Rhyme some time before, yet now and then he here reverts to Rhyme for a subtle effect.—On the whole, the verse of the choral and lyric parts of *Samson Agonistes* may be described as Blank Verse of various lengths of the Iambic metre, from 2 *xa* to 6 *xa*, with occasional touches of the Anapæstic and other metres, and with occasional rhymes.

In Eckermann's *Conversations of Goethe*, under the date April 6, 1829, there is this story:—"We sat a while longer at table, taking some glasses of old Rhenish wine, with some good biscuits. Goethe hummed to himself unintelligibly. The poem of yesterday [a poem of Goethe's in three stanzas, of the date January 1788, printed in the *Zweiter Aufenthalt in Rom*] came into my head again. . . . 'One peculiarity of this poem,' said I, 'is that it has upon me the effect of rhyme, and yet it is not in rhyme. How is this?' 'That is the result of the rhythm,' he replied. 'The lines begin with a short syllable, and then proceed in trochees to the dactyl near the close, which has a peculiar effect, and gives a sad, bewailing character to the poem.' He took a pencil, and divided the line thus:—

'Vŏn | mēinĕm | brēitĕn | Lāgĕr | bīn ĭch vĕr | trīebĕn.'

We then talked of rhythm in general, and came to the con-

clusion that no certain rules can be laid down in such matters. 'The measure,' said Goethe, 'flows, as it were, unconsciously from the mood of the poet. If he thought about it while writing the poem, he would go mad, and produce nothing of value.'"——This anecdote is a fit preface to what is here to follow. Milton, in the act of writing or mentally composing his poetry, did not generally think of the *minutiæ* of the verse-mechanism, but obeyed the mood of his thought, and the instinct of a musical ear as perfect and fastidious as was ever given to man. There is no doubt, however, that, like Goethe, he could become the prosodian of his own verses when he chose, and was very learned and critical in all such matters. He would not have objected, therefore, to the most microscopic examination of his verse in search of the mechanical causes or accompaniments of the poetic effects. What of this kind can be given here may divide itself between two heads—I. Milton's Metrical Management, and II. Milton's Rhymes.

The Metrical Management.

It is by examining Milton's Blank Verse that we shall best learn his metrical art.

The formula of the normal line of Blank Verse is 5 *xa*: which means that each normal line consists of ten syllables, alternately weak and strong. Here are examples of such lines from Milton's poetry:—

> "At last a soft and solemn-breathing sound."—*Comus*, 555.

> "Awake, arise, or be for ever fallen."—*P. L.*, I. 330.

> "Of flutes and soft recorders, such as raised
> To highth of noblest temper heroes old."—*P. L.*, I. 551, 552.

> "The birds their notes renew, and bleating herds
> Attest their joy, that hill and valley rings."—
> *P. L.*, II. 494, 495.

> "And swims, or sinks, or wades, or creeps, or flies."—
> *P. L.*, II. 950.

> 'And looking round, on every side beheld
> A pathless desert, dusk with horrid shades.—
> *P. R.*, I. 295, 296.

> "And I shall shortly be with them that rest."—*S. A.* 598.

Such regular lines of five Iambi, however, are much less frequent than might be supposed, and very rarely are two or three of them found consecutively. The reason is that any considerable series of lines of this uniform construction would be unendurable. The ear demands variety; and so, *mutatis mutandis*, that happens in English Blank Verse which happened in the various kinds of classic verse. The Heroic verse of Homer and Virgil is called Dactylic Hexameter, the formula of which, if we use our symbols for accent as symbols for quantity, would be 6 *axx*. In fact, however, no line of six Dactyls exists. Not only is the last or sixth foot invariably a Spondee (*aa*); but even the fifth, which generally must be a Dactyl, may now and then be a Spondee, and any of the preceding four may be either a Spondee or a Dactyl. Thus we may have lines occasionally with only one dactylic foot. The reason for the name of the verse, therefore, is that each line has a total effect *equivalent* to that of six Dactyls. So in the kind of verse called Iambic Trimeter or Iambic Senarius, which was the verse of the Greek tragedians for the dialogue, and of their Latin followers. The norm of each line was six Iambi, or, in our notation, 6 *xa*, so that the verse may be taken as our Blank lengthened by a foot. Regular lines of the six Iambi do occur; but a succession of such would have been thought monotonous. In the actual practice of the poets (Greek and Latin together) the ear therefore dictated varieties, which the prosodians, coming after them and watching what they had done, expressed in these rules—that any one of the first five feet might be a Tribrach (*xxx*); that any of the three odd feet (the 1st, the 3rd, and the 5th) might perfectly well be a Spondee (*aa*); and that this Spondee might be resolved into a Dactyl (*axx*) or an Anapæst (*xxa*) in any of the three places, though in the third place the Anapæst, and in the fifth the Dactyl, ought to be very rare. The verse was called Iambic Senarius, in short, because each line was to consist of six Iambi, *or what the cultured ear would accept as equivalent*. Precisely so are we to be understood when we say that the formula of Milton's Blank Verse, or of English Blank Verse generally, is 5 *xa*. Lines may occur, frequently enough, that answer exactly to that formula; but the formula only means that each line delivers into the ear a general 5 *xa* effect, the ways of producing

this effect being various. What the ways are can be ascertained only by carefully reading and scanning a sufficient number of specimens of approved Blank Verse.

Unfortunately, the process of scanning Milton's Blank Verse, or any other English verse, is not so certain as that of scanning Greek or Latin verse. All depends on the reading; and the reading depends on the taste and habits of the reader. It would be easy to read Milton's Blank Verse so that all the lines, or most of them, should be redacted by force into the normal 5 *xa*. Thus, the first line of *Paradise Lost* might be read:—

"Ŏf mán's | fírst dís | ŏbéd | iĕnce ánd | thĕ frúit";

or the very abnormal line, *P. L.*, VI. 866, might be read thus .—

"Búrnt áf | tĕr thém | tŏ thé | bŏttóm | lĕss pít."

This, of course, is too horrible; and such barbarous readers are imaginary. I am not sure, however, but that, in the reading of Milton or of Shakespeare, even by persons of education and taste, especially if they are punctilious about Prosody, there is a minor form of the same fault. It consists in reading so as to *regularize* the metre wherever it is possible to do so,—in reading the *xa* tune *into* the lines through and through, wherever, by a little persuasion, they will yield to it. This is wrong. The proper way is not to *impose* the music upon the lines, but to let the music of each line *arise* out of it as it is read naturally. Only in this way can we know what metrical effect Shakespeare or Milton anywhere intended. Perhaps the elision-marks and other such devices in the old printed texts, though well-intentioned, help to mislead here. When, in the original edition of *Paradise Lost*, I find *flamed* spelt *flam'd*, or *Heaven* spelt *Heav'n*, or *Thebes* spelt *Theb's*, I take the apostrophe as an express direction to omit the *e* sound and pronounce the words as monosyllables; but I cannot accept the apostrophe as an elision-mark of precisely the same significance in the lines "Above *th' Aonian* Mount, while it pursues" (*P. L.*, I. 15) and "That led *th' imbattelld* Seraphim to warr" (*P. L.*, I. 129),—for these reasons:—(1) Because the strict utterances *thAonian* and *thimbattelld* are comicalities now, which I cannot conceive ever to have been serious; (2)

because such contracted utterances are quite unnecessary for the metre, inasmuch as the lines are perfectly good to the ear even if the word *the* is fully, but softly, uttered, according to prose custom; and (3) because I find the same elision mark used in the old texts in cases where it is utterly impossible that the total suppression of the *e* can have been meant. No doubt the reading of English poetry in Milton's time or Shakespeare's differed in some respects from ours. The differences, however, must have been in details of pronunciation rather than in metrical instinct. On the whole, it is best to assume that strictly metrical effects are pretty permanent, that what was agreeable to the English metrical sense in former generations is agreeable now, and that, even in verse so old as Chaucer's, one of the tests of the right metrical reading of any line is that it shall satisfy the present ear. For this reason, and also because Milton's poetry is a property which, by his own express intention, we may use and enjoy after our own habits and methods, the right way of scanning his verse is to read it freely and naturally as we should read verse of our own day, subject only to a few transmitted directions, and to register the actual results as well as we can in metrical formulæ.

On this principle (which still, of course, leaves room for difference, as no two readers will read alike) I believe that a persevering and systematic scanning of Milton's lines of Blank Verse on any sufficient scale will yield a conclusion which may be thus expressed:—Although the normal formula of Milton's Blank Verse may be said to be 5 *xa*, and although a good many scattered lines answer exactly to this formula by consisting of five consecutive Iambi, an immeasurably larger proportion of his lines deviate from this formula by either (I.) *Dissyllabic Variation*, *i.e.* the substitution of a Trochee (*ax*), a Pyrrhic (*xx*), or a Spondee (*aa*), for the normal Iambus in one, two, three, or more of the five metrical places, or (II.) *Trisyllabic Variation*, i.e. the substitution of a trisyllabic foot, such as the Anapæst (*xxa*), the Dactyl (*axx*), the Tribrach (*xxx*), the Amphibrach (*xax*), the Cretic (*axa*), the Bacchius (*xaa*), or the Antibacchius (*aax*), for the normal Iambus, in one or more of the places. Illustration will make this clearer:—

I. Dissyllabic Variations.—From the perplexing

abundance of examples of such, page after page, take, almost at random, these :—

1. "Breathe such divine enchanting ravishment."
2. "Drink the clear stream, and nothing wear but frieze."
3. "Dovelike sat'st brooding on the vast Abyss."
4. "Nine times the space that measures day and night."
5. "Oh how unlike the place from whence they fell."
6. "Irreconcileable to our grand Foe."
7. "Say, Muse, their names then known, who first, who last."
8. "Numberless as thou seest, and how they move."
9. "Infinite wrath and infinite despair."
10. "Whose image thou art: him thou shalt enjoy."
11. "On a sunbeam, swift as a shooting star."
12. "Squat like a toad, close at the ear of Eve."
13. "Not to know me argues yourselves unknown."
14. "Gabriel from the front thus called aloud."
15. "Thus said:—Native of Heaven, for other place."
16. "In their triple degrees: regions to which."
17. "Created thee in the image of God."
18. "Burnt after them to the bottomless pit."
19. "Yet fell: remember and fear to transgress."
20. "To the garden of bliss, thy seat prepared."
21. "Productive on herd, plant, and nobler birth."
22. "Greedily she ingorged without restraint."
23. "Shalt eat thereof all the days of thy life."
24. "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread."
25. "Like change on sea and land, sideral blast."
26. "Me, me only, just object of his ire."
27. "Found so unfortunate; nevertheless."
28. "In the visions of God: it was a hill."
29. "Justification towards God, and peace."
30. "To the flood Jordan—came as then obscure."
31. "With them from bliss to the bottomless pit."
32. "Among daughters of men the fairest found."
33. "And made him bow to the Gods of his wives."
34. "After forty days' fasting had remained."
35. "And with these words his temptation pursued."
36. "From that placid aspect and meek regard."
37. "Their enemies, who serve idols with God."
38. "So fares it when with truth falsehood contends."
39. "Surnamed Peripatetics, and the sect."
40. "Light from above, from the fountain of light."
41. "Environed thee; some howled, some yelled, some shrieked."
42. "In the bosom of bliss, and light of light."
43. "Hail, son of the Most High, heir of both Worlds."
44. "That invincible Samson, far renowned."

45. " Scandalous, or forbidden in our Law."
46. " Horribly loud, unlike the former shout."
47. " For his people of old: what hinders now?"

All these lines, it will be observed, are *decasyllabic;* and so far they are regular. There being only ten syllables in each, the forced Iambic chant might regularize them all completely, or convert them all into strict 5 *xa:* e.g. "Ĭrrécŏncíleăblé tŏ óur grănd Fóe"; "Ŏn á sŭnbéam, swĭft ás ă shóotĭng stár"; "Grĕedíly̆ shé ĭngórged wĭthóut rĕstráint"; "Thăt ínvĭncíblĕ Sámsŏn, fár rĕnówned." Even where the Iambic chant is at its worst, however, it does not inflict such horrors as these, but acknowledges reluctantly that the lines are not to be regularized. A study of the facts puts all formally right by declaring that English Blank Verse admits a Trochee, a Spondee, or a Pyrrhic, for the Iambus, in almost any place of the line.

It is by no means to be supposed that the foregoing examples represent all the possible dissyllabic variations; but in these examples alone a considerable number of interesting variations may be observed. Thus the Trochee for the Iambus is very frequent in them. It appears, if I may trust to my own reading, in the first metrical place in Nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 22, 29, 31, 34, 39, 40, 45, 46, giving in each case the very acceptable effect, so common in good blank verse, of a strong syllable now and then at the beginning of a line. I find it in the second metrical place in Nos. 15, 16, 20, 24, 26, 28, 32, 34, 36, 42, 44, 47; it comes in the third metrical place in Nos. 11, 12, 13, 23; and in the fourth in Nos. 16, 17, 18, 19, 23, 24, 25, 27, 31, 33, 35, 37, 38, 40, 43. The Pyrrhic also is not uncommon. I find it, or seem to find it, in the first metrical place in Nos. 11, 16, 20, 24, 28, 30, 32, 35, 42, 44, 47; in the second in Nos. 8, 10, 14, 18, 21, 22, 37, 38, 39, 43, 45; in the third in Nos. 3, 6, 17, 18, 19, 31, 33, 35, 40; and in the fourth in Nos. 26, 34, 39, 45. One does not like to speak so surely of the Spondee, which is supposed to be rather alien to English speech; and the matter is complicated (as indeed it is in the Pyrrhic) by the delicate question of what the distinction is between accent and mere stress, strength, or quantity. Can a weak syllable, on the one hand, be said to be accented, and a syllable requir-

ing strong or emphatic enunciation, on the other hand, be said to be unaccented? Without discussing such a subtlety, let me say that I perpetually find in Milton's verse a foot for which "spondee" is the best name, and that it would be difficult to characterize many of his lines otherwise than by calling them Spondaic. In the foregoing examples I find, or seem to find, the Spondee for the Iambus, in the first metrical place, in Nos. 4, 5, 7, 15, 18, 19, 25, 26, 27, 38, 43; in the second metrical place in Nos. 2, 3, 13, 30, 35; in the third metrical place in Nos. 7, 10, 21, 26, 34, 41; in the fourth metrical place in Nos, 7, 14, 41; and (what is worth observing) in the fifth or last metrical place in Nos. 6, 7, 41, 43, 45.——More appears from the examples given than merely that the Iambus may be displaced anywhere in the line by another dissyllabic foot. It appears that there may be not only one such displacement, but several such, in any line, and indeed that one displacement naturally brings others by way of correction or compensation. Thus, of the 47 lines quoted, while some exhibit but *one* displacement (*e.g.* Nos. 1, 4, 5, 29, 36, 46), there are *two* displacements in many (Nos. 2, 8, 9, 10, 12, 15, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 27, 28, 30, 33, 37, 42, 44, 47), *three* displacements in thirteen (Nos. 3, 6, 11, 13, 14, 16, 19, 24, 31, 38, 39, 40, 41), *four* displacements in six (Nos. 7, 18, 26, 34, 35, 45), and *one* remaining line (No. 43) with actually *five* displacements, or not a single regularly placed Iambus in it. Subtle laws, no doubt, regulate the correction of one displacement by another or others; but the inquiry is too minute here.—One remark bearing on it may, however, be added. It is that the acceptability of a line to the ear, the ease with which it is passed as good or usual blank verse, is by no means in the inverse proportion of the number of its variations from the normal; and, *vice versâ*, that the strangeness of a line to the ear, the difficulty of accepting it, is by no means in the direct proportion of the number of its variations. Of the 47 specimen lines *twenty-three* or almost exactly a half, are lines which, I think, would be accepted at once, or without much demur, as in legitimate Blank Verse time—viz. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 22, 29, 30, 37, 38, 39, 41, 43, 45, and 46. The other half, or *twenty-four* in all—viz. Nos. 10, 11, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 40, 42, 44, 47—are

strange lines, out of tune with the general rhythm of Blank, and some of them so startlingly so that, in their detached state, they look like bits of prose, or lines astray from some complex chorus. Well, among those lines that would be accepted at once by everybody as in true Blank Verse time is precisely that No. 43 which is irregular or non-Iambic in all the five places: "Háil, Són ŏf thĕ Móst Hígh, héir ŏf bóth Wórlds" (*aa, xx, aa, ax, aa*). Of the other perfectly or easily acceptable lines, *two* exhibit *four* variations (No. 7, with actually four Spondees, and No. 45 with a Trochee, two Pyrrhics, and one Spondee), *seven* exhibit *three* variations (Nos. 3, 6, 13, 14, 38, 39, 41), *eight* exhibit *two* variations (Nos. 2, 8, 9, 12, 15, 22, 30, 37), and *five* exhibit *one* variation (Nos. 1, 4, 5, 29, 46). Of the twenty-four strange lines, on the other hand, *one* exhibits *one* variation (No. 36), *thirteen* exhibit *two* variations (Nos. 10, 17, 20, 21, 23, 25, 27, 28, 32, 33, 42, 44, 47), *six* exhibit *three* variations (Nos. 11, 16, 19, 24, 31, 40), and *four* exhibit *four* variations (Nos. 18, 26, 34, 35).

From the above, even if it be only approximately correct, it results that, though five beats or accents are the normal measure of Blank Verse, yet the number of accents, unless in a peculiar sense of accent, not realized in actual pronunciation, is also variable. In a good many of the lines only four distinct accents can be counted (*e.g.* Nos. 8, 9, 11, 18, 20, 22, 24, 31, 33, 35, 37, 40, 42, 44, 47). In three lines (Nos. 17, 28, and 39) I can detect but three; and, on the other hand, in a few very spondaic lines the number seems to mount to six (Nos. 2, 25, 26), seven (No. 43) or even eight (Nos. 7, 41). This diminution of the accents below four or increase above five conflicts, I know, with the common notion of accent, which makes it a mystical something, distinct from stress, strength, or anything that can be perceived in actual enunciation. But I cannot bear a nomenclature which in such a line as No. 7 would call the weak "*their*" and the strong repeated "*who*" indiscriminately unaccented syllables, or which would sink the co-equality of three words in the following line with the strongest other words in it by saying that it has somehow but five accents:—

"Rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens, and shades of death."

II. Trisyllabic Variations.—Less numerous than the lines that escape from the strict 5 *xa* formula by the substitution of the Trochee, the Pyrrhic, or the Spondee, for the Iambus, but still very frequent, are the lines that escape from the formula by the bolder substitution of one of the trisyllabic feet. This occasions even a greater irregularity in appearance; for, wherever an Anapæst, a Dactyl, a Tribrach, or other trisyllabic foot, displaces an Iambus, the line, of course, is lengthened to eleven syllables. Nevertheless the trisyllabic variation consists with the genius of English Blank Verse, and imparts to it an additional power and freedom. Again a collection of examples, out of the abundance bedded in Milton's text, will best yield conclusions:—

1. "To quench the drought of Phœbus, which as they taste."
2. "Likeliest and nearest to the present aid."
3. "To seek i' the valley some cool friendly spring."
4. "Feared her stern frown, and she was queen o' the woods."
5. "But for that damned magician, let him be girt."
6. "Crams and blasphemes his feeder. Shall I go on?"
7. "I must not suffer this; yet 'tis but the lees."
8. "Made Goddess of the river; still she retains."
9. "Created hugest that swim the ocean-stream."
10. "Inexorably, and the torturing hour."
11. "Whom reason hath equalled, force hath made supreme."
12. "Thrive under evil, and work ease out of pain."
13. "Passion and apathy and glory and shame."
14. "Immeasurably: all things shall be our prey."
15. "The intricate wards, and every bolt and bar."
16. "Of massy iron or solid rock with ease."
17. "So he, with difficulty and labour hard."
18. "Moved on: with difficulty and labour he."
19. "If true, here only, and of delicious taste."
20. "The organs of her fancy, and with them forge."
21. "Virtue in her shape how lovely: saw and pined."
22. "No inconvenient diet, nor too light fare."
23. "Each to other like, more than on Earth is thought."
24. "Plant of the field, which ere it was on the Earth."
25. "Of rainbows and starry eyes. The waters thus."
26. "Over fish of the sea and fowl of the air."
27. "Carnation, purple, azure, or specked with gold."
28. "How dies the Serpent? He hath eaten and lives."
29. "Thorns also and thistles it shall bring thee forth."
30. "That, jealous of their secrets, fiercely opposed."
31. "Wherefore didst thou beget me? I sought it not."

32. "Thy punishment then justly is at his will."
33. "To a fell adversary, his hate and shame."
34. "Not this rock only: his omnipresence fills."
35. "In piety thus and pure devotion paid."
36. "Fled and pursued transverse the resonant fugue."
37. "Ridiculous, and the work Confusion named."
38. "By day a cloud, by night a pillar of fire."
39. "Their city, his temple, and his holy ark."
40. "The throne hereditary, and bound his reign."
41. "Needs must the Serpent now his capital bruise."
42. "By vision found thee in the Temple, and spake."
43. "Knowing who I am, as I know who thou art."
44. "And on that high authority had believed."
45. "Behold the Kings of the Earth how they oppress."
46. "Little suspicious to any king; but now."
47. "Powers of Fire, Air, Water and Earth beneath."
48. "No advantage, and his strength as oft assay."
49. "Only in a bottom saw a pleasant grove."
50. "From us, his foes pronounced, glory he exacts."
51. "How quick they wheeled, and, flying, behind them shot."
52. "Of their pursuers, and overcame by flight."
53. "City or suburban, studious walks and shades."
54. "Shook the arsenal, and fulmined over Greece."
55. "Epicurean, and the Stoic severe."
56. "Have brought thee and highest placed; highest is best."
57. "The mystery of God, given me under pledge."
58. "By the idolatrous rout amidst their wine."
59. "With youthful courage and magnanimous thoughts."
60. "Wilt thou then serve the Philistines with that gift?"
61. "Miraculous, yet remaining in those locks."
62. "Out, out, hyæna! These are thy wonted arts."
63. "She's gone, a manifest serpent by her sting."
64. "The sumptuous Dalila floating this way."
65. "Afford me, assassinated and betrayed."
66. "Tongue-doughty giant, how dost thou prove me these?'
67. "This insolence other kind of answer fits."
68. "Whether he durst accept the offer or not."
69. "To something extraordinary my thoughts."
70. "Relation more particular and distinct."

All these lines might be rectified into Decasyllabics by supposing elisions, slurs, or contracted utterances; and there are some who seem to favour such a practice. There could be no more absurd error. Will any one venture to say that the word "*Phœbus*" in No. 1 is to be pronounced "*Phœbs*," the word "*magician*" in No. 5 "*magish*," the

words "*feeder*" and "*river*" in Nos. 6 and 8 "*feed'*" and "*riv'*," the words "*the ocean-stream*" in No. 9 "*th'ocean-stream*," the word "*reason*" in No. 11 "*reezn*," the word "*difficulty*" in No. 17 "*diffikty*," the work "*purple*" in No. 27 "*purp'*," the word "*ridiculous*" in No. 37 "*ridic'-lous*," the word "*capital*" in No. 41 "*captal*," the words "*No advantage*" in No. 48 "*Nadvantage*," the word "*Philistines*" in No. 60 "*Philstines*," the word "*giant*" in No. 66 "*gint*," or the word "*particular*" in No. 70 "*partiklar*"? Did Milton require these pronunciations in his verse, or the other violences and comicalities that would be necessary to reduce the rest of the lines to Decasyllabics? I do not believe he did; and, if Blank Verse required such, Blank Verse would not be worth having. But it does not. The lines above, and any other such lines, remain perfectly good Blank Verse even with the most leisurely natural enunciation of the spare syllable; and the pedantic expression of this fact is that English Blank Verse admits a trisyllabic substitute for the Iambus, and may thus become hendecasyllabic.

Scanning the seventy specimen lines, my own ear makes out this result; which may pass on the whole, though it is by no means likely that it will be accepted in all particulars. —In *eighteen* the supposition of an Anapæst (*xxa*) mends the line—three times in the first metrical place (Nos. 26, 43, 48); six times in the second metrical place (Nos. 3, 21, 29, 56, 64, 65); three times in the third (Nos. 9, 12, 45); three times in the fourth (Nos. 47, 51, 57); and three times in the last (Nos. 5, 10, 24). In *six* lines the Dactyl (*axx*) solves the knot—four times in the first place (Nos. 2, 46, 49, 53); once in the second place (No. 54); and once in the fourth place (No. 50). The Tribrach also accounts for *six*—once in the first place (No. 55); once in the second (No. 14); and four times in the third (Nos. 17, 18, 33, 40). For *three* lines the Antibacchius (*aax*) comes to the rescue, twice in the second place (Nos. 19 and 34), and once in the third (No. 32); and for *two* lines the rarer Cretic (*axa*) is the solvent, once in the first place (No. 23) and once in the fourth (No. 7). This leaves thirty-five of the lines, or exactly one half, unaccounted for; and in these, strange to say, the neatest agent is the Amphibrach (*xax*). It fits the first place eight times (Nos. 11, 15, 25, 35, 37, 39, 61, 67), the second seven times (Nos. 16, 27, 52, 58, 62, 63, 66),

the third eleven times (Nos. 1, 5, 6, 8, 20, 22, 31, 44, 60, 69, 70), and the fourth nine times (Nos. 13, 28, 30, 36, 38, 41, 42, 59, 68).—The introduction of a trisyllabic foot is apt to cause a disturbance even in the rest of the fabric of the line, made up as it is of dissyllabic feet with their accents. Hence some of the lines quoted require very peculiar scanning, apart from the inserted trisyllabic foot. Some of them, indeed, would not pass for Blank Verse at all if they stood by themselves, and are such only when fused into the music of the context: *e.g.* Nos. 24 and 26. In both these cases Milton is quoting from Scripture, and it is his habit then to compel the metre to adopt the literal text.

Are there any examples of two trisyllabic variations in one line? There are, though exceedingly rare. I quote a few:—

1. "Wallowing unwieldy, enormous in their gait."
2. "Where obvious duty erewhile appeared unsought."
3. "Of sorrow unfeigned and humiliation meek."
4. "Though ravenous, taught to abstain from what they brought."
5. "The one winding, the other straight, and left between."
6. "Aim at the highest: without the highest attained."
7. "Curiosity, inquisitive, importune."

In each of these, if the pronunciation is not slurred, there are twelve syllables; and yet they are not Alexandrines. They are verses with two trisyllabic feet each, so that the metre of the whole line is pushed wider by two syllables. Thus in No. 1 "*Wallowing*" is a Dactyl in the first place, followed by an Anapæst in the third; in No. 2 there is an Anapæst in the second place, followed by another, or perhaps rather a Bacchius (*xaa*), in the third; in No. 3 there is an Amphibrach in the first place, followed by a Cretic in the fourth; in No. 4 there is an Amphibrach in the first place, followed by an Anapæst in the third; in No. 5 a Bacchius begins the line, followed by an Anapæst; in No. 6 there is an Amphibrach in the second place, repeated in the fourth; and, if No. 7 is to be scanned at all, it is by supposing an Anapæst in the first place, followed by a Tribrach in the second, a Trochee in the third, and then two Iambi.

If all Milton's thousands of lines of Blank Verse, there-

fore, were examined individually, they might be distributed, so far as we have yet seen, into four sorts:—I. The normal 5 *xa*, or pure Decasyllabics of five Iambi. Such lines do occur pretty numerously, and generally, I think, with a calming, soothing, or pathetic effect. II. The 5 *xa*, with more or less of dissyllabic variation. This is by far the prevailing sort, and is divisible into sub-varieties, according to the amount and method of the dissyllabic variation. III. Lines of the 5 *xa* formula converted into Hendecasyllabics by some single trisyllabic variation. These are numerous. IV. Lines of 5 *xa* widened into Duodecasyllabics by a double trisyllabic variation. These are exceedingly rare.

Of one feature of Milton's Blank Verse we have hitherto taken no account. It is THE SUPERNUMERARY FINAL SYLLABLE. This is a distinct thing from the supernumerary syllable or syllables that may arise within any line from the trisyllabic variation. It is a relic of the old English habit of speech which made it natural, as we see in Chaucer, to end verses with a weak syllable after a strong, as the Italians and other nations do yet. In Shakespeare the ending of a line with a supernumerary weak syllable after the last strong one was perfectly optional: often there are five or six such lines consecutively in a single speech.—How far did Milton keep up the habit? With respect to this question, we must distinguish between Milton's Dramatic Blank Verse, in his *Comus* and *Samson Agonistes*, and his Narrative Blank Verse, the adoption of which for his *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* he claimed as almost an invention.—The eighth line of *Comus* is one with a supernumerary final syllable ("Strive to keep up a frail and feverish being"); the tenth is the same; and throughout the Masque such lines occur at intervals to the number of about 70 in all, or about 9 per cent of the whole. It appears, therefore, that Milton availed himself of the traditional liberty of 5 *xa* + for dramatic blank verse, though more sparingly than was usual with the stage-dramatists. Not even in his Narrative Blank did he quite reject the convenient liberty. In the first Book of *Paradise Lost*, consisting of 798 lines, I count nine lines with a supernumerary final syllable. This is at the rate of about one in every hundred; and I rather think that the proportion throughout most of the poem is not in excess of that, though it varies in different Books, and in

Book X. in particular I have noted at least fifty-two extra-syllabled lines in a total of 1104, or at the rate nearly of one in every twenty. In *Paradise Regained*, containing altogether 2070 lines, the number of extra-syllabled lines, as roughly observed, is 70 or more; which is at the rate of one in every thirty. On the whole, therefore, the notion that Milton disapproved of lines of this kind in Epic Blank Verse has been exaggerated. That he did hold them less suitable, however, for Epic Blank Verse than for Dramatic Blank is suggested not only by his very moderate use of them in his epics, but also by the fact that such lines are most frequent there in the dramatic parts or speeches.—The idea is confirmed when we pass to *Samson Agonistes*. He rather revels in the liberty of extra-syllabled lines in that dramatic poem. The blank-verse dialogue parts of the drama make about 1300 lines, and I have counted over 230 extra-syllabled lines among them, or more than one in every six. They sometimes come very thickly. In one speech of Samson's there are twelve in thirty-two lines, and there are instances of three or four quite consecutively.

This fact of the occasional Supernumerary Final Syllable imports an additional metrical peculiarity into Milton's Blank Verse, inasmuch as it may occur in any of the four sorts into which on other grounds his lines may be distributed.

When it occurs in a line of the first sort, *i.e*, composed otherwise of five pure consecutive Iambi, it simply makes that line 5 *xa*+, or hendecasyllabic: *e.g.*

"While thus I called, and strayed I knew not whither."

When it occurs in a line of the second sort, *i.e.* which would otherwise be 5 *xa* with dissyllabic variation or variations, the result similarly is 5 *xa*+ of that sort, also hendecasyllabic: *e.g.*

"Eternal King: thee author of all being."

But when it occurs in a line of the third sort or of the fourth—*i.e.* in a line of the single or the double trisyllabic variation—more happens. Such lines are still properly of the 5 *xa* formula, inasmuch as the trisyllabic feet introduced are but substitutes for *xa* in the places where they come; but they are already hendecasyllabic or duodecasyllabic. Now,

when such a line acquires a supernumerary final syllable, or becomes 5 *xa*+, we have the curious phenomenon of a line perfectly within the rule of Blank Verse, perfectly answering to the 5 *xa*+formula, and yet containing *twelve* or even *thirteen* syllables. Here are examples of a length of *twelve* syllables so occasioned in lines already hendecasyllabic by the action of a single internal trisyllabic variation :—

> "The fellows of his crime, the followers rather."
> "Virtue, as I thought, truth, duty, so enjoining."
> "Some way or other yet farther to afflict thee."

And here is one example of a length of *thirteen* syllables produced by the supernumerary final syllable in lines already duodecasyllabic in virtue of two internal trisyllabic variations :—

> "By spiritual, to themselves appropriating."

Instances of lines twelve or thirteen syllables long are among the extreme rarities of Milton's text; but there is yet another way in which such a rarity may occur. It is by the accident or inadvertence of an *Alexandrine*—*i.e.* of a line not at all of the proper 5 *xa* or 5 *xa*+ rhythm merely widened by trisyllabic variation and the supernumerary final syllable, but distinctly of the 6 *xa* rhythm. An ordinary Alexandrine consists of twelve syllables (six pure Iambi or an equivalent of dissyllabic feet) thus :—

> "From out his secret altar touched with hallowed fire."—
> *Od. Nat.* 28.

> "While birds of calm sit brooding on the charmèd wave."—
> *Od. Nat.* 68.

But then, as an Alexandrine itself is susceptible of internal trisyllabic variation as well as dissyllabic, and as it may also have a supernumerary final syllable or be 6 *xa*+, we may have Alexandrines of *thirteen* syllables (or even perhaps *fourteen*) : thus :—

> "And leave her dolorous mansions to the peering day."—
> *Od. Nat.* 140.
> "Bright-harnessed Angels sit in order serviceable."—*Od. Nat.* 244.
> "So huge their numbers, and so numberless their nation."
> *Spens. F. Q.*, IV. xii.

Are there any Alexandrines in Milton's Blank Verse? There are some, both of twelve syllables and of thirteen, scattered through the choruses in *Samson*, where, as we have said, Milton ranges freely from 2 *xa* to 6 *xa*: *e.g.* :—

> " No strength of man or fiercest wild beast could withstand."—127.
> " With studied argument and much persuasion sought."—658.
> " Or to the unjust tribunals, under change of times."—695.

In these choruses, however, Milton holds himself released from all ordinary rule; and in his Blank Verse proper, narrative or dramatic, it is much more difficult to find a true Alexandrine. In *Comus*, 617, where the end of a speech of the Elder Brother runs into one line with the beginning of a speech of the Guardian Spirit, the two fragments form an Alexandrine, thus :—

> " As to make this relation?
> *Spirit:* Care and utmost shifts."

The following are also perhaps examples :—

> " As if she would her children should be riotous."—*Com.* 763.
> " For solitude sometimes is best society."—*P. L.*, IX. 249.
> " Such solitude before choicest society."—*P. R.*, I. 302.
> " Private respects must yield, with grave authority."—*S. A.* 868.

It may be maintained that these last are not positive examples, inasmuch as they may be taken rather as lines of 5 *xa* with *two* supernumerary weak final syllables; and the same may be said more plausibly of such lines as the following :—

> " Is now the labour of my thoughts: 'tis likeliest."—*Com.* 192.
> " Great benefactors of mankind, deliverers."—*P. R.*, III. 82.
> " Samson, of all thy sufferings think the heaviest."—*S. A.* 445.
> " To accept of ransom for thy son, their prisoner."—*S. A.* 1460.

Nevertheless, exactly such lines do pass for Alexandrines in poems where Alexandrines are due, the two final weak syllables passing (as often in *xa* verse) for a distinct foot: *e.g.*

> " In whose dead face he redd great magnanimity."—
> *Spens. F. Q.*, II. viii. 23.
> " This garden to adorn with all variety."—*F. Q.*, II. xii. 59.

Whether, after such precedents, we call the above examples from Milton Alexandrines, or whether we call them, as it is perhaps best to do in dramatic dialogue, only 5 *xa* lines with two supernumerary final syllables, in either case we see in them lines of twelve or thirteen syllables produced by a cause different from those already noted.

THE CÆSURA.—This term is used in different senses by prosodians; but it seems best, for English verse, to understand by it the pause attending the conclusion of a period, or of some logical section of a period, when that pause occurs anywhere else than at the end of a line. That Milton attached some importance to the Cæsura, in this sense, as a factor in Blank Verse, may be inferred from his Prefatory Note to *Paradise Lost*, where, defending the all-sufficiency of Blank Verse for "true musical delight," he says that such true musical delight "consists only in apt numbers, fit quantity of syllables, and *the sense variously drawn out from one verse into another.*" Now, in this sense, I think I can report with some certainty that the most frequent Cæsura in Milton's Blank Verse is at the end of the third foot (*i.e.* generally after the sixth syllable, though it may occasionally be after the seventh, or even after the eighth): *e.g.*

> "And took in strains that might create a soul
> Under the ribs of Death." ‖

> "In Vallombrosa, where the Etrurian shades
> High overarched embower." ‖

> "Prone on the flood extended long and large
> Lay floating many a rood." ‖

> "Dropt from the zenith, like a falling star,
> On Lemnos, the Ægean isle." ‖

This, I think, is also Shakespeare's favourite Cæsura. Next in frequency in Milton is the Cæsura after the second foot (generally the fourth syllable): *e.g.*

> "A thousand demigods on golden seats
> Frequent and full." ‖

After these two, but a long way after them, the most common are the Cæsura in the middle of the third foot (generally after the fifth syllable), and that in the middle of the fourth foot (generally after the seventh syllable): *e.g.*

"shapes and forms,
The heads and leaders thither haste where stood
Their great Commander." ‖

"Lay vanquished, rolling in the fiery gulf
Confounded, though immortal." ‖

Considerably less frequent still is the Cæsura after the completed fourth foot (generally the eighth syllable); and still more rare, though occasional, are the Cæsuras at the middle of the second foot (generally after the third syllable) and after the first completed foot (generally the second syllable):—

"Anguish and doubt and fear and sorrow and pain
From mortal or immortal minds. ‖ Thus they"

"for now the thought
Both of lost happiness and lasting pain
Torments him. ‖ Round he throws his baleful eyes."

"And now his heart
Distends with pride, and, hardening in his strength,
Glories: ‖ for never since created Man."

Very rare indeed is the Cæsura in the middle of the fifth foot (*i.e.* after what is generally the ninth syllable); but there are instances:—

"Were it a draught for Juno when she banquets,
I would not taste thy treasonous offer. ‖ None
But such as are good men can give good things."

Hardly to be found at all is the Cæsura after the first syllable or in the middle of the first foot; but this may pass as an instance:—

"The Ionian Gods, of Javan's issue held
Gods; ‖ yet confessed later than Heaven and Earth."

MILTON'S RHYMES.

RHYMES may either be *Perfect* or *Imperfect*; and nearly the whole question as to Milton's practice in rhyming connects itself with this distinction:—I. PERFECT RHYME consists of the stated recurrence, at metrical intervals, of exactly the same vocal endings, whether vowel-sounds simply (e.g. *go...blow*, *eye...cry*), or vowel-sounds with consonantal additions completing the syllable (e.g. *gold...bold...mould*

...*rolled*, *rose*...*close*...*blows*, *hand*...*stand*, *bear*...*spare*, *pause* ...*draws*), or vowel-sounds with such additions as to make farther syllables (e.g. *going*...*blowing*, *beaming*...*streaming*, *thunder*...*plunder*, *mountains*...*fountains*, *utility*...*facility*). Obviously, from this definition, a perfect rhyme may be single or monosyllabic, double or dissyllabic, or even triple or trisyllabic: obviously also, it is not identity of spelling that is required, but only identity of sound in the vowel that leads the rhyme, and in all that follows it, if anything does follow it, to complete the rhyme. Two sorts of Rhyme, however, that would be "perfect" according to this definition, are excluded, nevertheless, from good English verse. One is the *identical rhyme*: i.e. a rhyme perfect by the foregoing rule, but unfortunate in having the same consonantal sound repeated *before* the leading vowel-sound; e.g. *verse* ...*converse*, *so*...*sew*, *leaving*...*believing*. Though French verse favours such rhymes, and they are found in Italian, they are forbidden in modern English. Equally forbidden in all serious poetry is what may be called *The Provincial Rhyme*, or that in which the rhyme is good only by a pronunciation peculiar to a locality or district. Rhymes of this sort specially worthy of reprobation are such Cockney Rhymes as "*arm*...*calm*," "*morn*...*dawn*," "*morning*... *dawning*," "*Ah*...*far*," "*lyre*...*Sophia*," "*higher*...*Thalia*." Keats was, I think, the first classic English poet that fell into such rhymes, but they have become alarmingly frequent of late in South of England verse.—II. IMPERFECT RHYMES are those which, though falling short of the conditions of Perfect Rhyme, yet give, whether from custom or from their approximation to Perfect Rhyme, a similar pleasure to the ear. They may be variously classified; but perhaps the following classification, suggested in part by Mr. A. J. Ellis's collection of imperfect rhymes from Moore and Tennyson (*Early English Pronunciation*, pp. 858-862), is practically sufficient:—(1.) Weak or unaccented sounds rhyming with the same, or nearly the same, strong or accented: e.g. *misery*...*see*, *eternity*...*free*, *agonies*...*freeze*, *myrrh*...*lovelier*, *minister*...*fir*, *visible*...*hill*, *festival*...*all*, etc. (2.) Consonantal Rhymes, or vowel-sounds rhyming with different vowel-sounds because the sequent consonants are the same: e.g. *love*...*move*, *love*...*grove*, *home*...*come*, *one*...*alone*, *blood*... *good*, *heaven*...*even*, *clamber*...*chamber*, *death*...*sheath*, *have*...

save, *urn...mourn*, *God...abroad*, *Christ...mist*, *earth...forth*, etc. Such rhymes are quite common in the best modern English poets, and are therefore legitimate. Many of them are called specially *Eye-Rhymes*, because the sameness of the spelling helps to reconcile them to the ear. (3.) Rhymes in which the vowel-sounds differ decidedly, and there is also a difference of accent: e.g. *die...sympathy*, *eyes...mysteries*, *Christ...Evengelist*. The accepted rhymes of this sort are comparatively few, and some of them are Eye-Rhymes. (4.) Rhymes in which, the vowel-sounds either agreeing somewhat or differing essentially, the succeeding consonants yet differ: e.g. *his...bliss*, *peace...these*, *house...vows*, *else...tells*, *vase...grace*, *breath...wreathe*, *pass...was*, *face...gaze*, etc.

Milton has, of course, his full proportion of Perfect Rhymes, chiefly monosyllabic, but occasionally dissyllabic. Equally of course, no sanction of the hideous modern Cockney rhymes, as claiming to belong to this class, will be found in him. Of "identical rhymes" he is not so innocent, though one can see that, despite the example of Chaucer, Spenser, and the Italian poets generally, he did not like them. In *Psalm* LXXX. 21-23 he makes "*tears*" rhyme to itself; in *Psalm* LXXXVI. 26-28 he makes "*works*" rhyme to itself; in *Vac. Ex.* 89, 90, he makes "*not*" rhyme with "*knot*"; in *Sonnet* IX. he makes the proper name "*Ruth*" rhyme with "*ruth*," the abstract noun; in *Psalm* II. 20-22 he makes "*averse*" rhyme with "*converse*"; in *Psalm* VII. 32-35 he makes "*righteousness*" rhyme with "*wickedness*"; in *Psalm* LXXX. he makes "*vouchsafe*" rhyme several times with "*safe*"; and search may detect some more latent instances. On the other hand, in the Psalm Translations in Service metre, when a rhyme is due in the third line to the word ending the first, he sometimes fails to give it. In those Psalm Translations, however, he was not at all fastidious.——But what in the main matter of Imperfect Rhymes? Milton, if not so lax here as Spenser had been, fully asserted the liberty which has been maintained by succeeding English poets to this day. He furnishes examples freely of all the kinds of Imperfect Rhymes recognised in our classification: e.g. (1.) *blest...hoverest*, *err...harbinger*, *iniquity...he*; (2) *sphere...were*, *God...load*, *spreads...meads*, *stood...flood*, *good...blood*, *groves*

...*loves*, *tomb*...*comb*, *alone*...*one*, *known*...*down*, *hearers*... *bearers*; (3.) *tie*...*harmony*, *victories*...*arise*; (4.) *pass*...*was*, *voice*...*noise*.

With all possible deduction on account of dubious pronunciations, the proof is positive in every page that Milton made free and large use of imperfect rhymes. From a rough calculation, I should say that, in the whole of his rhymed poetry, extending to about 2700 lines, every eighth or tenth rhyme is more or less imperfect. Nor is it only in his least elaborate poems and passages that such rhymes occur. They occur in passages the most finished and dainty, the most lyrical and musical. Take for example the Echo Song in *Comus*, sung by the lost Lady in the woods at night. That song is avowedly an address to the very Genius of Sound; it is the song of which the Guardian Spirit said that its perfection had enraptured Silence herself, and might have created a soul under the ribs of Death. Well, that song is even conspicuous for its imperfect rhymes:—

"Sweet Echo, sweetest nymph, that liv'st unseen
Within thy airy shell
By slow Meander's margent green,
And in the violet-embroidered vale
Where the love-lorn nightingale
Nightly to thee her sad song mourneth well:
Canst thou not tell me of a gentle pair
That likest thy Narcissus are?
O, if thou have
Hid them in some flowery cave,
Tell me but where,
Sweet Queen of Parley, Daughter of the Sphere!
So may'st thou be translated to the skies,
And give resounding grace to all Heaven's harmonies!'

NOTES TO THE MINOR POEMS.

NOTES TO THE MINOR ENGLISH POEMS.

PARAPHRASE ON PSALM CXIV.—Several phrases and rhymes in this juvenile piece have been traced to Sylvester's Du Bartas (see Introd.)—*e.g.* the rhymes *recoil, foil* (9, 10), *mountains, fountains* (13, 14), *crush, gush* (17, 18).—"*Terah's faithful son*" (1) is Abraham; "*Pharian*" for Egyptian (3) is either from *Pharaoh* or from *Pharos* (an island on the coast of Egypt), and is found in Buchanan's Psalms.

PARAPHRASE ON PSALM CXXXVI.—The initial pronoun *who* in lines 10, 13, 17, 21, and 25, is a substitute in the second edition for *that* in the first.—"*Ruddy waves*" and "*Erythræan*" for the Red Sea (45, 46) are found in Sylvester. *Ervthræan* in Greek means "red"; and the name in Herodotus for this sea and the Indian Ocean generally was ἡ ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα, translated by the Latins into *Rubrum Mare.* The name, derived probably from the red coral reefs in the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb, gave rise to the fancy that the water itself was red; and Sylvester actually varies the phrase "*ruddy billows*" into "*scarlet washes.*" From the same poet came "*walls of glass*" (50), and "*warble forth*" (89). "*Watery plain*" for the sea (23) is in Spenser, Drayton, and William Browne; "*golden-tressèd,*" as an epithet for the sun (29), is in Chaucer; "*hornèd moon*" (33) is Spenser's, Shakespeare's, and everybody's; "*tawny king*" is found in Fairfax's *Tasso.*—"*Seon . . . that ruled the Amorrean coast*" (65) is a literal translation of a line in Buchanan's Latin version of Psalm cxxxv. :—*Quique Amorrhæis Seon regnavit in oris.*"

ON THE DEATH OF A FAIR INFANT.

1. "*O fairest flower*," etc. This opening is distinctly imitated from that of a piece in Shakespeare's *Passionate Pilgrim*:—

> "Sweet rose, fair flower, untimely plucked, soon vaded,
> Plucked in the bud, and vaded in the spring!
> Bright orient pearl, alack, too timely shaded!
> Fair creature, killed too soon by death's sharp sting."

8—10. "*grim Aquilo*," etc. Aquilo, or Boreas, the North Wind, dwelt in a cave in Thrace, and carried off Oreithyia, the daughter of the Athenian king Erechtheus.

8. "*charioteer*." Spelt *charioter* in the original, and also in the only other line of Milton's poetry in which the word occurs (*Par. Lost*, VI. 390). All modern editions spell *charioteer;* but perhaps Milton intended the sound to be *charioter*.

12. "*infámous blot*." Todd remarks that the phrase, with the same pronunciation of *infámous*, occurs in Spenser (*F. Q.*, III. vi. 13).

15. "*icy-pearlèd*." Warton suggested "*ice-ypearlèd*," on the analogy of *ychained* (*Od. Nat.* 155) and *star-ypointing* (*On Shaks.*); but, on the analogy of *rosy-bosomed* (*Com.* 986) and *fiery-wheelèd* (*Pens.* 53), we may keep *icy-pearlèd*. Sylvester calls hail "ice-pearl."

23—27. "*For so Apollo*," etc. Hyacinthus, son of a king of Sparta or Laconia, of which Eurotas is a river, was accidentally killed by Apollo; and from his blood sprang the flower that bears his name.

31. "*in wormy bed*." Warton cites the phrase from Shakespeare (*Mids. N. D.*, iii. 2),—"Already to their wormy beds are gone."

39. "*that high first-moving sphere*," *i.e.* the *primum mobile* or Tenth Sphere of the old system of Astronomy. See Introd. *Par. Lost*, pp. 37-38.

44. "*Of shaked Olympus*." So Shakespeare (*Troil. and Cress.*, i. 3),—"O, when degree is shaked."

48. "*and thou*." Elliptical for *wert thou?*

50, 51. "*that just Maid who*," etc. Astræa or Justice, who dwelt on the Earth in the golden age, but forsook it afterwards in disgust, and resumed her place in Heaven.

53. "*Or wert thou [Mercy], that sweet smiling Youth?*" The word within brackets is wanting in the original, so that the line is metrically defective there; but there can be no doubt that *Mercy* was meant.

68. "*the slaughtering pestilence.*" An allusion to the prevalence of the plague in London and elsewhere in England when the poem was written. See Introd.

76, 77. "*he will an offspring give that,*" etc. One can hardly say that this prophecy was fulfilled in Edward Phillips and John Phillips, Milton's nephews, the brothers of the "Fair Infant," born after her death (see Memoir, pp. lxv.-lxvi.) Yet they are both remembered on their uncle's account.

At a Vacation Exercise.

To make this piece intelligible, the Introduction to it ought to be read first. It saves many notes.

19. "*new-fangled.*" This is the only occurrence of the word in Milton's poetry; but it is a good old English word.

20. "*our late fantastics,*" our recent literary coxcombs.

33. "*Such where,*" *i.e.* "such a subject that in it," etc.

33—44. "*Such where the deep transported mind may soar,*" etc. I hardly know a passage in Milton's earlier poetry in which the difference between poetic imagination and ordinary thinking may be more clearly seen than in this. Milton's constant habit of thinking in the terms of the Ptolemaic Astronomy is also to be seen in it.

37. "*unshorn Apollo,*" *i.e.* the juvenile or beardless Apollo: a translation of the Greek epithet ἀκερσεκόμης, and the Latin *intonsus*, applied to this god.

42. "*And hills of snow and lofts of pilèd thunder.*" Dunster quotes from Sylvester the line "Cellars of wind and shops of sulphury thunder"; and there may be a recollection of others of Sylvester's meteorological phrases in the preceding lines.

46. "*beldam Nature,*" *i.e.* "the old lady, Nature." Our meaning "hag" is even a worse degeneracy from the original "belle dame" or "fair lady."

48—52. "*Such as the wise Demodocus,*" etc. In the *Odyssey*, Book viii., Demodocus, the blind bard of Alcinous, King of the Phæacians, is brought in to sing before the unknown

Ulysses and the rest of the company. He sang of the Trojan war; and the agitation of Ulysses on hearing him attracted the notice of Alcinous.

58. "*to the next,*" *i.e.* the next speaker in the Extravaganza.

74—88. "*Shall subject be to many an Accident,*" etc. A prolonged pun on the metaphysical doctrine that *Substance*, or Being in itself, underlies or is subject to its *Accidents:* viz. the modifying conditions that translate it into phenomena. ACCIDENT, in fact, is here the conjunct name for all the nine predicaments after SUBSTANCE itself: viz. Quantity, Quality, Relation, Where, When, Posture, Habit, Action, Passion. These are the "brethren" of SUBSTANCE, and really inferior to him; but yet they treat him as they like, and try to hold him in subjection. See Introd.

90. "*Your learned hands.*" The word *your* is emphatic. It is addressed to the academic audience present at the extravaganza in Christ's College. Only they, or such as they, could interpret the scholastic riddle of the immediately preceding speech.

91—100. "*Rivers, arise,*" etc. This passage has been rendered intelligible by a neat little discovery, made in 1859 by the late Mr. W. G. Clark, Vice-master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and one of the editors of the Cambridge Shakespeare. He ascertained from the books of Christ's College that two recently admitted freshmen of the college at the time when Milton's comic discourse was delivered were GEORGE and NIZELL RIVERS, sons of Sir John Rivers, a Kentish knight, the first in the fifteenth year of his age, the second in the fourteenth. One of these boys must have stood for the Predicament *Relation* in Milton's Extravaganza; and he it was who was now "called by his name," as Milton has just informed us: "RIVERS, *arise.*" The rest of the speech is a continued pun on that phrase in the form of a poetical enumeration of English rivers. Milton may have had in mind Spenser's similar poetical enumerations of rivers (see especially *F. Q.*, IV. xi. 20 *et seq.*), and passages in Drayton's *Polyolbion.* Of the thirteen rivers mentioned five have epithets attached to them that may need explanation. The *Mole*, in Surrey, disappears, in summer, for a part of its course, into a subterranean channel; *Severn* derived its name from the maiden *Sabrina*, drowned in it (see *Comus*,

824 *et seq.*, and note there); the *Dee*, near Chester, was sacred with Druidical traditions; *Humber*, in legend, derives its name from a Hunnish invader in primeval times; "*royal-towered Thame*" is the Thames, flowing by Windsor, Hampton Court, and London.

ON THE MORNING OF CHRIST'S NATIVITY.

19—21. "*Now while the heaven,*" etc. See lines 87-88 of *Elegia Sexta*, where Milton expressly informs his friend Diodati that this ode was conceived very early in the morning of Christmas Day 1629.

24. "*prevent them.*" Anticipate them, get before them.

27. "*the Angel Quire*": the Angels heard at Bethlehem. Luke ii. 13, 14.

29. "*while.*" At the time when.

41. "*Pollute.*" Direct from the Latin *pollutus*. See Essay on Milton's English, pp. 172-173.

48. "*the turning sphere*": the wheeling sphere of the whole Universe as conceived in the old Cosmology.

56. "*The hookèd chariot.*" War-chariots had scythes or hooks, to cut what they met.

64. "*with wonder whist.*" Hushed with wonder. To *hush*, to *whist*, and to *hist*, are forms of one and the same verb, meaning "to silence," and connect themselves with the sounds *sh!* or *st!* as interjections commanding silence. See Ariel's song in the *Tempest*, i. 2. Todd quotes from the *Dido* of Marlowe and Nash (1594) the phrase "southern winds are whist."

66. "*Ocean.*" To be pronounced here as a trisyllable.

74. "*Lucifer,*" the Morning Star.

86. "*Or ere the point of dawn.*" So in the original; but *or e'er* has been suggested, on the ground that *or ere* is a mere reduplication, inasmuch as *or* in this usage is only another form of *ere* (old English *ær*, before). Why should Milton have said *ere ere* or *before before?* Did he not mean *ere ever* or *before ever?* The form *or ere*, however, is not accidental. It occurs in writers before Milton. Mr. Aldis Wright, in his *Bible Word Book*, gives three examples,—one from Sir Thomas More ("*or ere* the clergy began"), and two

from Shakespeare: viz. *K. John*, iv. 3, "*or ere* we meet," and *Tempest*, i. 2:—

> "I would
> Have sunk the sea within the earth, *or ere*
> It should the good ship so have swallowed."

In these cases, it may be argued, *or e'er* would suit as well, and was probably intended; for that phrase, same as *or ever* or *ere ever*, was also common: *e.g.*, as Mr. Wright notes, *Hamlet*, i. 2.

> "Would I had met my dearest foe in heaven,
> *Or ever* I had seen that day, Horatio."

In the present passage, however, the fact that it is a substantive, "*point of dawn*," that is qualified, and not a verb, increases the probability that *or ere* was intended, and that this was a naturalised duplicate preposition in English, as well as an adverb, when Milton wrote.

88. "*little thought they than.*" The form *than* for *then*, though induced here by the rhyme, is genuine old English.

89. "*the mighty Pan*," the God of shepherds.

95. "*Strook.*" This is perhaps Milton's favourite form of the past tense and participle of the verb *strike*. It recurs in *Comus*, 301, *Par. Lost* II. 165, and VI. 863, X. 413, XI. 264, and *Par. Reg.* IV. 576; and it is found in his prose: *e.g.* "The bright and blissful Reformation . . . *strook* through the black and settled night of Ignorance" (*Of Ref. in England*). He does use, however, the form *struck:* see *Par. Reg.* III. 146, and *Sams. Ag.* 1686. In *Par. Lost* IX. 1064 he has the form *strucken*. On referring to these passages, it will be found that musical reasons recommended the deviation from the form *strook*, just as musical reasons made *strook* preferable in other cases.

101—104. "*Nature, that heard*," etc. Construe thus: "Nature, that heard such sound thrilling the airy region beneath the hollow round of Cynthia's seat (*i.e.* beneath the concave sky where the Moon rides) was now," etc.

106. "*its last fulfilling.*" One of the three occurrences of the word *its* in Milton's poetry, the other two being *Par. Lost*, I. 254, and IV. 813. See Essay on Milton's English, pp. 174-186.

116. "*unexpressive*," *i.e.* inexpressible. So in *Lycidas*

176; and Shakespeare has "The fair, the chaste, and unexpressive She" (*As You Like It*, iii. 2).

117—124. "*Such music*," etc. Job xxxviii. 4-11.

125—132. "*Ring out, ye crystal spheres*," etc. An instance of Milton's fondness for the Pythagorean fancy of the music of the spheres, *i.e.* a music produced by the wheelings of the orbs that were supposed, in the old Astronomy, to constitute the Mundane Universe. See Introd. to *P. L.*, pp. 37-38. In the completely developed Ptolemaic system there were ten spheres: for the present purpose Milton is content with *nine* (line 131).

132. "*consort*" (Lat. *consortium*, society): used as our *concert*.

143, 144. "*Orbed in a rainbow; and, like glories wearing, Mercy will sit between.*" This is a change in the second edition from the text of the first, which had stood thus:—

> "Th' enameld Arras of the Rainbow wearing,
> And Mercy set between."

168. "*the Old Dragon*." Rev. xx. 2.

172. "*swinges*." Spelt "*swindges*" in the original editions. The word occurs nowhere else in Milton's poetry.

173. "*The Oracles are dumb*." The idea, from this point to line 236, is that of the sudden paralysis of the gods and enchantments of the Pagan Religions at the birth of Christ. Compare *P. R.*, I. 455. There had been an ecclesiastical tradition to this effect from the time of the early Christians. See De Quincey's Essay *The Pagan Oracles*.

191. "*Lars*," family-gods; "*Lemures*," ghosts or goblins.

197—220. "*Peor and Baälim*," etc. With one exception, all the oriental gods mentioned in these three stanzas are enumerated in the list of Fallen Angels in *P. L.* I. 392 *et seq*. *Anubis*, not there mentioned, was an Egyptian god, worshipped in the shape of a dog. The "twice-battered god of Palestine" is the Philistian Dagon. "*The Lybic Hammon*," or Jupiter Ammon, was represented with the head of a ram. In the myth of *Osiris* he is put into a chest by conspirators, and sent floating down the Nile: Milton blends him with Apis, the bull-god.—"*The Memphian grove*," fields about the Egyptian city of Memphis.—"*unshowered grass*," from the rarity of rain in Egypt.

226. "*Typhon huge*." Typhon is the Greek name for

Suti, one of the brothers of Osiris, and his enemy. In Egypt he was worshipped in various beast forms, sometimes as a crocodile. The Greek Typhon was a dragon-headed monster, buried underground for opposing Zeus.

229. "*So, when the Sun,*" etc. This popular idea of the vanishing of ghosts at sunrise occurs also in Shakespeare (*Mids. N. Dr.* iii. 2).

240. "*youngest-teemèd,*" latest-born.

THE PASSION.

6. "*wintry solstice*": when the day is shortest.——26. "*Cremona's trump,*" *i.e.* the Latin poem of Marco Girolamo Vida of Cremona (1490—1566), called "The Christiad."——34, 35. "*The leaves should all be black,*" etc.: a conceit from the old books of funereal poems printed with white letters on a black ground.——36—39. "*See, see the chariot,*" etc. The prophet here is Ezekiel (see Ezek. i.) ——43. "*that sad sepulchral rock*": the holy sepulchre. ——56. "*Had got a race of mourners,*" etc. The conceit is from the story of Ixion, who, cheated by a cloud or phantom, substituted for Juno, became the father of the Centaurs. —Observe the strange syntax of the prose addition to this piece. One must agree with the judgment there expressed.

SONG ON MAY MORNING.

Warton quotes "The dancing day, forth coming from the east" from Spenser's *Astrophel;* and, in illustration of line 10, he quotes this from Chaucer's *Knightes Tale:*—

> "O Maye, with all thy floures and thy grene,
> Right welcome be thou, faire freshe Maye."

ON SHAKESPEARE.

1—4. "*What needs my Shakespeare,*" etc. One might almost suppose, from the wording of these lines, that there was a proposal, in or about 1630, to erect a monument to Shakespeare. If so, it must have been in London, for the famous monument in the church of Stratford-on-Avon had been put up at least as early as 1623, or seven years after

Shakespeare's death. It is mentioned in the lines by L. Digges to Shakespeare's memory prefixed to the First Folio, published in that year :—

> " Shakespeare, at length thy pious fellows give
> The world thy works—thy works by which outlive
> Thy tomb thy name must: when that stone is rent,
> And Time dissolves thy Stratford monument,
> Here we alive shall view thee still."

Possibly, however, Milton's lines were not occasioned by any project of a new monument, but were merely an expression of the natural sentiment that Shakespeare needed no such memorial. If so, he may have been consciously amplifying these lines in Ben Jonson's famous Eulogy on Shakespeare, prefixed to the First Folio :—

> " My Shakespeare, rise! I will not lodge thee by
> Chaucer or Spenser, or bid Beaumont lie
> A little further to make thee a room :
> Thou art a monument without a tomb,
> And art alive still while thy book doth live,
> And we have wits to read and praise to give."

4. "*star-ypointing*," *i.e.* pointing to the stars. The word is hardly a correct formation, as the prefix *y* (German *ge*) belongs properly to the past participle passive, as in *yclad*, *yclept*.

6. "*weak witness*." In the copy in the Second Folio Shakespeare the words are "*dull witnesse*."

8. "*livelong*." The word is *lasting* in the Second Folio.

9, 10. "*to the shame of slow-endeavouring art, thy easy numbers flow*." A reference to Shakespeare's extreme ease and fluency in composition, as attested by his fellow-players Heminge and Condell, the editors of the First Folio : "His mind and hand went together: And what he thought he uttered with that easiness that we have scarce received from him a blot in his papers." This extreme ease in composition, or contentedness with first drafts, did not belong to Milton ; and he notes it in Shakespeare with admiration.

11. "*unvalued*": invaluable. Todd quotes from Shakespeare (*Rich. III.* I. 4) "unvalued jewels."

12. "*Delphic lines*," *i.e.* oracular lines, as if from Apollo's own temple at Delphi.

14. "*Dost make us marble with too much conceiving*": "dost change *us* into marble by the over-effort of thought to which thou compellest us,"—a very exact description of Shakespeare's effect on his readers. I have ventured to emphasise the word *us*, to bring out the sense.

On the University Carrier.

8. "*Dodged with him betwixt Cambridge and* The Bull." See Introd.—*Dodge* is an old English word, meaning, according to Wedgwood (*Dict. of Eng. Etym.*), "to jog, to move quickly to and fro; hence to follow in the track of anyone, to follow his ins and outs, also to deceive one by change of motion."——15. "*Showed him.*" *i.e.* Death showed him; the nominative *Death* in the first clause of the sentence running on after the "*But*" of line 11.

Another on the Same.

5. "*Made of sphere-metal,*" *i.e.* of the same perfect and enduring metal of which the heavenly spheres are composed. ——14. "*Too long vacation hastened on his term.*" The whole piece is a string of puns on Hobson's business and the circumstances of his death. The pun here is on the antithesis of the University *Long Vacation* and *Term* time.——29, 30. "*Obedient to the moon,*" etc. Hobson made four journeys every month,—alternately from Cambridge to London and from London to Cambridge.——32. "*his wain was his increase.*" Pun on the two identical sounds—*wane*, wasting or diminution, and *wain*, waggon.

Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester.

13, 14. "*Nature and Fate had had no strife,*" etc. Nature and Fate would then have agreed, whereas now Nature quarrels with Fate.

17. "*The virgin quire,*" *i. e.* the bride's maids.

18. "*The god that sits at marriage feast.*" Hymen, bringing his torch.

22. "*a cypress-bud*": a bud of the funereal cypress, inserted into the marriage-wreath.

23, 24. "*Once had*," etc. This only son of the young Marchioness was Charles Paulet, called Lord St. John of Basing till his father's death in 1674, when he succeeded him as sixth Marquis of Winchester. In 1689 he was made Duke of Bolton.

26. "*Lucina*," the Roman goddess of Childbirth.

28. "*Atropos*," one of the three Fates. Clotho span the thread of life; Lachesis decided its length; Atropos ("the Inevitable") cut it at the fated point.

47, 48. "*Gentle Lady*," etc. Warton compares the lines in the death-song in *Cymbeline* (iv. 2):—

"Quiet consummation have,
And renowned be thy grave."

50. "*seize*," in the legal sense of putting in possession of a property.

56. "*Weept.*" So in the original; "*Helicon*," the mountain-tract in Bœotia sacred to the Muses.

58. "*hearse*," in old English a tomb, or framework over a tomb, not a funeral carriage.

62—70. "*That fair Syrian shepherdess*," etc. Rachel, Jacob's wife. Gen. xxix. xxx. and xxxv. 16-20.

L'ALLEGRO.

1—3. "*Melancholy, of Cerberus and blackest Midnight born*," etc. In the classic mythology it is Erebos, or Darkness, the son of Chaos, that is the original husband of his sister Nyx or Night, their offspring being Æther (Sky), and Hemera (Day). But, in the same mythology, Night, quite apart from Erebos, is made the mother of many other gruesome or mysterious beings, such as Thanatos (Death), Hypnos (Sleep), Nemesis, etc. Poets, accordingly, have added at will to her progeny by various husbands or without husband. Milton chose to wed Cerberus to Night for the production of Melancholy. Some commentators have thought the conjunction inappropriate; but was it not poetical enough to think of Melancholy as the child of Night and the Hell-dog?

10. "*dark Cimmerian desert*." In the *Odyssey* the Cimmerians are a people dwelling beyond the ocean-stream in a

land of perpetual darkness; afterwards the name was given to a people in the region of the Black Sea (whence *Crimea*).

11, 12. "*thou Goddess fair and free, in Heaven yclept Euphrosyne.*" Warton and Todd quote several examples from our old poets of the conjunction of the epithets "fair" and "free" as denoting grace in women. The word "yclept" (the old past participle of the verb *clepe*, "to call," from the A.-S. *clepan*) occurs only in this passage in all Milton's poetry, and is spelt *ycleap'd* in the editions of 1645 and 1673. EUPHROSYNE (*i.e.* Mirth or Cheerfulness), in the classic mythology, was one of the three Graces.

14—23. "*Whom lovely Venus,*" etc. The two sister Graces of Euphrosyne were AGLAIA (Brightness), and THALIA (Bloom), and the parentage of the three is given variously in the old mythology. Most commonly they are represented as the daughters of Zeus by Hera, or by one of several other goddesses, among whom Venus or Aphrodite is not mentioned. But Milton is his own mythologist here. He invents an option of two pedigrees for Euphrosyne. Either she is the daughter of Bacchus and Venus, born at one birth with the other Graces, Aglaia and Thalia—*i.e.* Cheerfulness may spring from Wine and Love; or, preferably, and by an airier and purer origin, she is the child of Aurora (the Dawn), begotten in early summer by Zephyr (the West Wind)—*i.e.* it is the early freshness of the summer morning that best produces Cheerfulness.

24. "*So buxom, blithe, and debonair.*" All three adjectives are found by Todd in the *Aristippus* of Thomas Randolph, published in 1635,—"to make one blithe, buxome, and deboneer." *Buxom* means originally "flexible" or "easily bowed," from A.-S. *beogan*, to bow; hence "lively," or "lithe," and so to "handsome," though at present the word, by a forgetfulness of its original meaning, rather implies a stout kind of handsomeness. *Blithe* ("merry" or "gay"), an old English, or A.-S. word, is now mainly provincial or Scottish. *Debonair*, from the French (*de bon air*, good-looking), is a favourite word with the old Romancers.

27, 28. "*Quips and Cranks and wanton Wiles,*
Nods and Becks and wreathèd Smiles."

Quip is a smart or cutting saying, and is supposed to be the same etymologically as *whip*. *Crank* is literally a crook or

bend : hence a "crank" in the sense of an iron rod bent into an elbow as in machinery, or a "crank" in the sense of the word in this passage—*i.e.* an odd turn of speech. *Wile* is a trick, and the same word as *guile.* A *beck* (to *beckon*) is a sign either with the finger or with the head—in which latter case it includes a *nod.* See the word *Par. Reg.* II. 238. *Smiles* are called *wreathed* because they curl or wreathe the features. Warton supposes Milton to have remembered this line in a stanza in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*:—

"With becks, and nods, and smiles again."

40. "*unreproved*": unreproveable or innocent. So "*unvalued*" for "inestimable" in the lines on Shakespeare. There are many such instances in Milton, and the form was common.

45—48. "*Then to come, in spite of sorrow, and at my window,*" etc. This passage has been strangely misconstrued by some commentators. The skylark, they have told us, never comes to people's windows to bid them good-morrow through the sweet-briar, the vine, the eglantine, or anything else; and, in making it do so, Milton showed that he did not so much observe nature at first hand as fancy her through books! If the commentators had hesitated a little, they would have avoided this nonsense. It is not the lark at all that Milton makes come to the window and bid good-morrow, and by no possibility could that absurdity fit with the syntax of the passage. By the syntax, as well as by the sense, it is L'Allegro, the cheerful youth (Milton himself, we may suppose) that comes to the window and salutes people. The words "*Then to come*" in line 45 refer back to, and depend upon, the previous words "*Mirth, admit me*" of line 38. Milton, or whoever the imaginary speaker is, asks Mirth to admit him to her company and that of the nymph Liberty, and to let him enjoy the pleasures natural to such companionship (38—40). He then goes on to specify such pleasures, or give examples of them. The first (41—44) is that of the sensations of early morning, when, walking round a country cottage, one hears the song of the mounting skylark, welcoming the signs of sunrise. The second is that of coming to the cottage window, looking in, and bidding a cheerful good-morrow through the sweet-briar,

vine, or eglantine, to those of the family who are also early astir.

53. "*Oft listening*," etc. Here the poet passes on to a new pleasure, or a prolongation of the former.

57. "*Sometime walking*." Here, distinctly, L'Allegro is away from his cottage, and out on his morning walk.—"*not unseen*": "Happy men love witnesses of their joy" is Hurd's acute note on this expression.

62. "*dight*," arrayed: from the A.-S. *dihtan*, to arrange, furbish, set in order; still extant in the Scottish *dicht*, to wipe or clean.

67. "*tells his tale*." Warton, on the suggestion of a friend, proposed to take *tale* here in the sense which it has in Exod. v. 8 ("the tale of the bricks"), and so to understand the fancy to be that of the shepherds counting their sheep in the morning to make sure that all was right. The reading has found favour; but the popular and more poetical one, which takes "*tale*" to mean simply "story," may after all be correct.

69. "*Straight mine eye*," etc. By this rapid turn of phrase Milton skilfully indicates a new paragraph in his description. Hitherto he has been delighting in the phenomena of early morning; now his eye catches "*new pleasures*,"—*i.e.* he is still out on his walk, but some time has elapsed, and it is farther on in the day. "*Straight*" means "instantaneously," not in the actual succession of sights in the walk, but in the poem, or what of the walk he chooses, as L'Allegro, to remember or fancy.

73, 74. "*Mountains*," etc. This passage alone would confirm the view that the scenery of *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, though they may have been written at Horton, is not to be regarded as all actual or local, but as mainly ideal and eclectic (see Introd. p. 18). A mountain near Horton was never seen but in dreams, and then it was a hillock.

75. "*with daisies pied*." Almost certainly a recollection of Shakespeare's "When daisies pied and violets blue," in the last song in *Love's Labour's Lost*. "Pied," a common word with the old poets, means variegated in colour: thus, *pie* or mag*pie*, and *pie*bald.

77—80. "*Towers and battlements it sees*," etc. Windsor Castle, near Horton, may be here meant.—"*cynosure*": in Greek literally "the dog's tail," the name for the constel-

lation of the Lesser Bear, which contains the pole-star. The Phœnician sailors, though not the Greek, directed their eyes to this constellation in steering their course; hence, by metaphor, any object on which many eyes are fastened is a *cynosure*.

79. "*lies*," lodges, resides: not an uncommon old meaning.

91, 92. "*Sometimes, with secure delight,*
The upland hamlets will invite."

So Milton again notes a paragraph in the poem, changing the scene. It is now past mid-day, and into the afternoon; and we are invited to a rustic holiday among the "upland hamlets" or little villages among the slopes, away from the river-meadows and the hay-making.

94. "*rebecks.*" The *rebeck* was a kind of fiddle, supposed to be the same as Chaucer's *ribibe;* which again is the Arabic *rebeb*, a two-stringed instrument played with a bow. Warton notes that the name of the fiddler in *Romeo and Juliet* (IV. 4) is Hugh Rebeck.

98. "*On a sunshine holiday.*" The word "sunshine" used adjectively for "sunshiny." Milton repeats the exact phrase in *Comus*, 959.

100. "*Then*," *i.e.* as it grows dark.

102. "*Faery Mab.*" See Shakespeare's description of Queen Mab in *Romeo and Juliet*, i. 4. There is a more prosaic one in Ben Jonson's masque *The Satyr* (1603).—— "*junkets*," cream-cheese or the like, wrapt in rushes (Italian *giunco*, a rush).

103—114. "*She . . . and he*," etc. A girl has been telling some story about Queen Mab, vouching from her own experience that what is said of the nightly pranks of that Fairy about farm-houses is all true; and now another colloquist, a man, accredits, on like authority, the stories told of two other beings of the Fairy class. These are *Friar Rush and his Lantern*, commonly called *Jack o' Lantern* or *Will o' the Wisp*, and *Robin Goodfellow*, called also *Hobgoblin*. Most is said about the second, "the drudging goblin," a kind of masculine Mab, performing among the ploughmen and farm-labourers the same offices of mischief and occasional good service that Mab did among the housemaids and dairymaids. Shakespeare promoted him into Puck.

117. "*Towered cities please us then.*" It is the *mood* of

the youth that is transferred to the city, not himself personally. The word *then* is important. It indicates that darkness is coming on, and that the rustics, with their early habits, are asleep, leaving the educated youth to prolong his waking hours with fit readings and recreations within doors.

131. "*Then to the well-trod stage.*" The reading and reverie hitherto have been among romances and tales of chivalry, such as Malory's *Morte D'Arthur;* but now there come readings in the dramatists.

132—134. "*If Jonson's learned sock be on,*
Or sweetest Shakespeare, Fancy's child,
Warble his native wood-notes wild."

It is the lighter kind of drama, the drama of the "sock" (*Comedy*, in performing which the actors wore low-heeled shoes), rather than that of the "buskin" (*Tragedy*, in performing which the actors wore high-heeled boots), that suits the mood of L'Allegro. Jonson himself has the phrase "when thy socks were on", with reference to Shakespeare's comic dramas, as distinct from his tragedies, or the "tread" of his "buskin,"—hardly knowing which to praise most (*Lines to the Memory of Shakespeare*); and Milton probably borrowed the phrase from Jonson to increase his compliment to that writer. As Jonson did not die till 1637, the compliment was to a living man. In speaking of "Jonson's *learned* sock," Milton kept to the established epithet about Jonson, whose "learning" was his chief quality with most critics. So in the epithets "sweetest" and "Fancy's child," applied to the dead Shakespeare, who was still remembered as "the gentle" and "the honey-tongued," and whose prodigious natural genius critics contrasted with Jonson's learning and laboriousness. The two lines given to Shakespeare in *L'Allegro* have been thought under the mark of the subject; and the words "warble his native wood-notes wild," though perhaps a suitable mention of Shakespeare's lyrics, do strike one as not comprehensive enough for his Comedies. It is to be remembered, however, that Milton is touching things here but lightly and briefly, and that "Fancy" (Phantasy) had a larger meaning then than now. Fortunately, also, we can go back to Milton's lines *On Shakespeare* in 1630, and be fully satisfied.

135, 136. "*And ever, against eating cares,*
Lap me in soft Lydian airs."

In other words, readings are now exchanged for music. But, as it was the lighter and more luscious kind of reading that suited the lively mood, so it is the softer and sweeter kind of music,—the "*Lydian,*" rather than the "Dorian" or the "Phrygian." These were the three ancient kinds of music; and their differences are described technically by musicians. "*Eating cares*" is a translation of Horace's "*curas edaces*" (*Od.* II. xi. 18).

145—150. "*That Orpheus' self,*" etc. Orpheus, in the Greek mythology, was the unparalleled singer and musician, the power of whose harp or lyre drew wild beasts, and even rocks and trees, to follow him. His wife Eurydice having died, he descended into Hades to recover her if possible. His music, charming even the damned, prevailed with Pluto, who granted his prayer on condition that he should not look on Eurydice till he had led her completely out of Hades and into the upper world. Unfortunately, on their way upwards, he turned to see if she was following him; and she was caught back.

151, 152. "*These delights if thou canst give,*
Mirth, with thee I mean to live."

An echo of the closing lines of Marlowe's *Passionate Shepherd*:—

> "If these delights thy mind may move,
> Then live with me and be my love."

Il Penseroso.

1—30. "*Hence, vain deluding Joys,*" etc. The studied antithesis of *Il Penseroso* and *L'Allegro* throughout declares itself in these opening thirty lines, which exactly match and counterpoise the first four-and-twenty lines of *L'Allegro.* So closely is the one poem framed on the model of the other that it would be impossible to say, on mere internal evidence, which was written first. Most probably the idea of two such companion pieces was in Milton's mind before he wrote either.

3. "*bested*": avail, advantage, stand in stead to, or stand by (by-stand).

6. "*fond,*" in its old sense of "foolish."

10. "*pensioners*": retinue, literally "paid dependents." So Shakespeare, "The cowslips tall her pensioners be" (*Mids. Night's Dream*, ii. 1).

14. "*To hit the sense.*" Mr. Browne cites "A strange invisible perfume hits the sense" (*Ant. and Cleop.* ii. 2).

18. "*Prince Memnon's sister.*" Memnon, in the legends of the Trojan war, is a prince of the Ethiopians who came to the aid of Priam, and was killed by Achilles. Though black or dark, he was of splendid beauty (*Odyss.* XI. 522), and the same might be presumed of any sister of his. Milton was supposed to have invented the "sister" for his purpose; but there are actual sisters in the legends. Tithonus, the brother of Priam, and Eos or Aurora, were the parents of these dark beauties.

19—21. "*that starred Ethiop queen that strove,*" etc. Cassiope, wife of Cepheus, King of the Ethiopians, and mother of Andromeda, challenged the Nereids for the superiority of beauty. In revenge they got Poseidon to send a ravaging monster into Ethiopia; and Andromeda was about to be sacrificed to this monster, when she was saved by her lover Perseus. Cassiope was raised to heaven and turned into the constellation *Cassiopeia:* hence Milton's epithet of "*starred.*" Her daughter Andromeda had afterwards the same honour.

23—30. "*Thee bright-haired Vesta . . . to solitary Saturn,*" etc. As Milton had invented a genealogy for Mirth (*L'Allegro*, 14-24), so now, with even more subtlety of significance, he invents one for Melancholy. She is the daughter of the solitary Saturn (from whose name and disposition our word *saturnine*) by his own child Vesta or Hestia, the goddess of the domestic hearth; and she was born in the far primeval time, while Saturn still reigned as the supreme God and had not been dispossessed by his son Zeus. That Milton here implied that Melancholy comes from Solitude or Retirement cannot be doubted; the question is as to the meaning of the other form of the parentage. Is Vesta to be taken simply as the Hearth-affection or pure Domesticity? Perhaps so; and to say that Melancholy comes of solitary musings at the domestic fireside would be no bad derivation. But the epithet "*bright-haired*" applied to Vesta, and the subsequent imagination of her meetings with Saturn in the glimmering glades of Mount

Ida, seem to require a more bold and mystic view of the nature of this goddess. Warton identifies her with Genius, and supposes Milton to mean therefore that Melancholy is the daughter of Solitude and Genius. One remembers, however, that Vesta was the goddess of the sacred eternal fire that could be tended only by vowed virginity; and here one is on the track of a peculiarly Miltonic idea.

31. "*pensive Nun.*" Does not the immediate occurrence in Milton's mind of this epithet for Melancholy give an additional likelihood to the suggestion in the end of last note?

33. "*grain*": colour. See note, *Par. Lost*, v. 285.

35. "*cypress lawn*": black linen crape or gauze, said to have first come from the island of Cyprus, and often spelt "Cyprus" in old books. "Cyprus black as e'er was crow" is one of the wares of the pedlar Autolycus in *Winter's Tale* (iv. 4).

42. "*Forget thyself to marble.*" An idea repeated from the Lines on Shakespeare.

43. "*With a sad, leaden, downward cast.*" Leaden-coloured eye-sockets betoken melancholy, or excess of thoughtfulness; but see *Epitaph. Dam.* 79, 80:—

> "Saturni grave sæpe fuit pastoribus astrum,
> Intimaque obliquo figit præcordia plumbo";

i.e. the star Saturn has a *leaden* or dispiriting influence on shepherds, or sons of the Muses.

46—48. "*Spare Fast,*" etc. A favourite Miltonic principle here. See again *Eleg. Sexta*, 55-66.

51—54. "*But, first and chiefest, with thee bring*
Him that yon soars on golden wing,
Guiding the fiery-wheelèd throne,
The Cherub Contemplation."

A daring use of the great vision, in Ezekiel, chap. x., of the sapphire throne, the wheels of which were four cherubs, each wheel or cherub full of eyes all over, while in the midst of them, and underneath the throne, was a burning fire. Milton, whether on any hint from previous Biblical commentators I know not, ventures to *name* one of these cherubs who guide the fiery wheelings of the visionary throne. He is the Cherub *Contemplation.* It was by the serene faculty named Contemplation that one attained the

clearest notions of divine things,—mounted, as it were, into the very blaze of the Eternal.—"*yon*" (A.-S. *geond*) adverbially for "*yonder*," as if the poet pointed his finger to heaven when he spoke of Contemplation. In nine other cases in which the word occurs in Milton's poetry it is uniformly an adjective,—"yon flowing estuary," etc. The adverbial use of *yon* still exists in Scotland.

56. "*hist*": imperative, as *bring* in line 51.

59, 60. "*While Cynthia checks her dragon yoke*
Gently o'er the accustomed oak";

i.e. "while the Moon, entranced with the song, is seen to check the pace of her dragon-drawn chariot over a particular oak-tree, that she may listen the longer." In Milton's Latin poem *In ob. Præs. El.* (56-58) there is exactly the same image for the Moon in her course. In the ancient mythology, as Mr. Keightley remarked, it is only the chariot of Demeter or Ceres that is drawn by dragons.—"*accustomed oak.*" Why the epithet "accustomed"? Is it because Milton here thinks not from the point of view of Cynthia, but from that of an observer of Cynthia? Was there a particular oak over which he himself had often watched the slowly-moving moon? Altogether it is a beautiful picture.

61—64. "*Sweet bird,*" etc. Milton's fondness for the nightingale appears not only in this passage, but also in Sonnet I., *Comus* 234 and 566, *P. L.*, IV. 602 and 771, and VII. 435-6, and *P. R.*, IV. 245.

65. "*unseen.*" In studied antithesis to line 57 of *L'Allegro.* See note thereon.

73—76. "*Oft, on a plat of rising ground,*
I hear the far-off curfew sound,
Over some wide-watered shore,
Swinging slow with sullen roar."

Milton, or Il Penseroso, who has last moment been walking, in fancy, on a "dry smooth-shaven green," watching the moon over an oak-tree, is now on a higher bit of flat ground, the level top of some hillock, listening to the sound of the far-off curfew bell, booming in the darkness, or rather in the moon-light, over miles of scenery. But over what scenery? "Over some wide-watered shore," he says. Observe the word "*some.*" It is a distinct intimation, if such were at all necessary, that the whole visual circumstance is ideal,—that the Penseroso of the poem is not actually out

walking in any particular locality, but is imagining himself, in reverie, here, there, and everywhere, at the bidding of his mood. Still, a recollection of some actual spot may well have been in Milton's mind as he suggested the imaginary one. The old custom of ringing the curfew at eight or nine o'clock in the evening (originally the signal for people to put out or cover up their fires: *couvre-feu*) was kept up in various parts of England in Milton's time, as it is in some to the present day; and, if Milton wanted to think of any particular spot, he could have no difficulty in choosing. The neighbourhood of Oxford, I believe, has put in a claim. But where in that vicinity is the "wide-watered shore"? It is suggested that the word "shore" may stand, as it sometimes does in old writers, for the banks of a river or the boundary of a lake; and, if the country near Oxford were flooded, as it used to be, there would be a sufficient shore in this sense. Even those who have no thought of the neighbourhood of Oxford in the passage still imagine that it is over "some wide-watered shore" in the sense of some inland lake or sheet of waters that the curfew is heard sounding. But why should the "wide-watered shore" not be the sea-shore? This seems the natural meaning of the phrase; and would it not be an omission in a poem on Melancholy if there were no mention of "the melancholy main"? Moreover, "shore," in every other case where Milton uses the word, is with him the shore of a sea, or of something that cannot be all seen round at once, and is therefore vast enough to be called a sea.—"*Swinging slow with sullen roar.*" Were it concluded that by the "wide-watered shore" Milton meant some imaginary bit of sea-shore, then, by no very forced construction, it might be the sea on this shore, and not the bell, that was swinging and roaring. The ordinary construction, however, which connects "swinging" with the "far-off curfew" is perhaps the more natural. "Roar," as applied to a bell, is not usual, but it is conceivable; and "sullen" is proper enough, for we have Shakespeare's "sullen bell" (*King Henry IV.* Part II. i. 1), and even his "surly, sullen bell" (Sonnet 71).

77, 78. "*Or, if the air will not permit,*
Some still, remov'd place will fit."

Observe that, whereas in *L'Allegro* the evening indoors did

not begin till line 117, or near the end of the poem, here we are within-doors at line 77, and three-fifths of the poem are yet to come.

83, 84. "*Or the bellman's drowsy charm,*" etc. The house imagined is, therefore, in some town, where the bellman or watchman may be heard outside, going his rounds, with his usual sing-song ("charm," from *carmen*) or cry. "Half-past nine, and a fine cloudy evening," may be remembered yet as a cry of the watchmen in some towns before the time of gas; but the older watchmen mingled pious benedictions with their meteorological information.

85, 86. "*Or let my lamp, at midnight hour,*
Be seen in some high lonely tower."

Evidently we are now back in the country, in the turret of some solitary mansion, where there are books, and perhaps astronomical instruments. How fine, however, not to give us the inside view of the turret-room first, but to imagine some one far off outside observing the ray of light slanting from its window!

87. "*outwatch the Bear.*" Mr. Keightley notes that, as the Bear never sets, this implies sitting up till daybreak, when the stars vanish.

88. "*With thrice great Hermes*": *i.e.* reading the books of the Egyptian king and philosopher Thot, called by the Greeks Hermes Trismegistus, or the Thrice-great Mercury. There were at one time many such books of Hermetic lore, bearing the name of this mythical personage, most of them written by the Neo-Platonists of Alexandria.

88, 89. "*unsphere the spirit of Plato.*" Here again the literal meaning is couched in metaphor. The literal meaning is "disentangle the doctrine of Plato by the profound study of his writings"; the metaphor is "bring back the disembodied spirit of Plato from those invisible regions where it is now insphered." Compare *Comus*, 3-6.

93—96. "*And of those demons,*" etc. In the syntax here we have a curious example, as Mr. Keightley notes, of that variety of ellipsis which the rhetoricians call *Zeugma:* thus, "*to unfold what worlds,* etc., *and* [tell] *of those demons,*" etc. But, though Plato does tell of demons, the peculiar doctrine of the demons of the four elements (Fire, Air, Water, and Earth) hinted at in the passage is rather a mediæval one.—"*consent,*" sympathetic connexion.

97—102. "*Sometime let gorgeous Tragedy . . . the buskined stage.*" Hitherto the occupation in the turret-chamber has been in philosophy and science, especially mystical science; but now the readings may be in the best tragic poets. The best and most solemn only,—to wit, the ancient Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides (the subjects of some of whose dramas, "*Thebes,*" "*Pelops' line,*" and "*the tale of Troy,*" are hinted at), and among moderns perhaps only Shakespeare. One can hardly construe lines 101-2 as applying to any other than Shakespeare. Refer to the passage in *L'Allegro* (131-134) to which this is the counter-stroke; and compare also *Eleg. Prima,* 37-46, and Milton's Preface to his *Samson Agonistes.*

104. "*But O . . . to raise Musæus . . . or bid the soul of Orpheus*": *i.e.* "O that we could recover the sacred hymns of the primitive semi-mythical Musæus of the Greeks, or the similar poems of his contemporary Orpheus." Note the reappearance of Orpheus from *L'Allegro* (145-150).

109—115. "*Or call up him that left half-told*
The story of Cambuscan bold," etc.

i.e. Chaucer, whose *Squieres Tale* is left unfinished. The preceding reference to great poems that had been wholly lost suggests to Milton the thought of poems that had come down in a fragmentary state, and gives him the opportunity of this mention of Chaucer.

116—120. "*And if aught else great bards . . . forests and enchantments drear, where more is meant than meets the ear.*" An allusion certainly to Spenser among others, Ariosto and Tasso perhaps included.

122. "*civil-suited Morn*": *i.e.* in plain citizen garb, as differing from court or military dress.

124. "*the Attic boy.*" Cephalus, the lover of Eos or Morning.

128. "*his fill.*" A remarkable instance of the use of *his* for our present *its.*

130. "*minute-drops*": drops falling at intervals. So "minute-guns."

134. "*Sylvan*": the woodland god Sylvanus.

135. "*monumental oak.*" "Because," says Mr. Keightley, "the monuments in churches were often formed of carved oak." But surely rather "monumental" in the sense of "memorial," "old," "telling of bygone years."

141. "*day's garish eye*": *garish*, staring, from Old-English *gare*, to stare.

145. "*consort*": perhaps in the sense of our modern word "concert," as in *At a Solemn Music*, 27; but perhaps merely in the sense of "companionship," *i.e.* "such other sounds of nature as accompany these."

147—150. "*And let some strange mysterious dream wave at his wings in airy stream*," etc. A difficult passage; but the meaning seems to be: "Let some strange mysterious dream wave (*i.e.* move to and fro) at his (*i.e.* Sleep's) wings, in airy stream," etc. *Wave* is a neuter verb here, as in *Par. Lost*, XII. 593.

156—166. "*To walk the studious cloister's pale,*
And love the high embowèd roof," etc.

Here again the pestering spirit of local identification breaks n to disturb the artistic eclecticism of the poem. What Gothic cloister did Milton mean? Old St. Paul's in London, or what other? Any of fifty others, I should say, if the question is as to Milton's acquaintance with the Gothic cathedrals or chapels of his time. But surely by "*studious cloister*" he meant, for the moment, the cloisters of some college, say at Cambridge. "*Cloister*" meant not only a monastery, or a church, but also any part of such building, or of a college, roofed from the rain, even if it had open or pillared sides. As in line 156 Penseroso is "walking," it must be in the pale of the cloister in this sense (*pale*, inclosure), and not yet in the chapel. But from the "cloister" he does move, in the next line, to the chapel; and surely it is the college-chapel, even though in the subsequent lines the vision is enlarged to that of a fully-appointed cathedral. Observe that only at this point of the poem is Penseroso in contact with his fellow-creatures. Throughout the rest he is solitary.

158. "*massy-proof*": perhaps proof against the mass they support. The word is of curious formation. In the First and Second editions it is printed without a hyphen, "*massy proof*." Did Milton mean "massively proof"?

159. "*storied windows richly dight*," *i.e.* windows of stained glass, with subjects on them from Scripture history.

167—176. "*And may at last my weary age*," etc. Recollected by Scott in his *Marmion* (Introd. to 2d Canto).

170. "*spell*": read, construe, get at the sense of, by putting together the letters.

174, 175. "*These pleasures*," etc. See note to *L'Allegro*, 151, 152.

ARCADES.

8—13. "*Fame, that . . . erst*," etc. For the antecedents of the aged Countess Derby see Introd. pp. 20-25.

20—25. "*the wise Latona . . . or the towered Cybele*," etc. Latona or Leto preceded Juno as the wife of Jupiter, and was the mother of Apollo and Diana. Cybele, otherwise Rhea or Berecynthia, was the wife of Saturn, and mother of the great gods, Jupiter, Juno, Neptune, Pluto, Vesta, and Ceres. She was called "the great Idæan mother of the gods," and in her images she wears a diadem from which three towers rise over the forehead. Observe how gracefully, in his choice of goddesses to be named, Milton alludes to the age of the Countess of Derby. Observe also the implied compliment, that even the handsomest of her daughters could hardly keep up with her.

26. "GEN. *Stay, gentle swains*," etc. It is a fair surmise that THE GENIUS OF THE WOOD was personated by Henry Lawes. (See Introd.) He first addresses the "*swains*," or young gentlemen of the masque.

30, 31. "*Divine Alpheus*," etc. Alpheus or Alpheius was a river in Arcadia. The legend was that a youthful hunter of that name had been in love with the nymph Arethusa, and that, when she fled from him to the island of Ortygia, on the coast of Sicily, he was turned into a river, pursued her in that guise by a secret channel under the sea, and, rising again in Ortygia, became one with her in a well or fountain there, called Arethusa after her.

33. "*silver-buskined Nymphs*": the lady-performers, wearing buskins, like Diana and her wood-nymphs.

47. "*wanton windings wove*." Notice the alliteration.

52. "*the cross dire-looking planet*." Saturn. See note to *Pens.* 43.

57. "*tasselled horn*": the horn of the huntsman, which had tassels hung to it.

63—73. "*the celestial Sirens' harmony*," etc. Another of those passages in which Milton employs the language of the

Ptolemaic system of the Cosmos, and shows also his delight in the Pythagorean sub-notion called the Music of the Spheres. See Introd. to *P. L.* pp. 37-43, and *Od. Nat.* 125-132, with note there. In the present passage, as in that, he is content with *nine* of the spheres; but the reason is now plain. It is only "the nine *infolded* spheres" that are concerned in the production of the music of the universe, the tenth, outmost, or Primum Mobile, having apparently a sufficient function in containing them all and protecting them from Chaos. On each of the inner nine sits a Muse or Siren; and these nine Sirens are singing harmoniously on their revolving spheres all the while that the three Fates are turning the spindle of Necessity. This very spindle of Necessity goes round to the tune of the music that lulls the Fates as they turn it. In all this description, Milton, as Warton pointed out, had in view an extraordinary passage in Plato's *Republic* (Book x. ch. 14). In Plato, of course, there are only eight spheres.

72, 73. "*which none can hear of human mould with gross unpurgèd ear.*" So in Shakespeare's well-known speech of Lorenzo to Jessica on the same "music of the spheres" (*M. of Ven.*, v. 1):—

> "But, whilst this muddy vesture of decay
> Doth grossly close us in, we cannot hear it."

75. "*height*"; so spelt here in the First and Second editions, though usually "*highth*" in Milton. The "*-her*" following probably made the sound of *highth* objectionable.

81. "*glittering state.*" "*State*" here in its old sense of "chair of state."

96—109. *Ladon* was a river in Arcadia; *Lycæus*, *Cyllene*, and *Mænalus*, were mountains in the same; and *Erymanthus* was an Arcadian river-god. Of *Pan* and his *Syrinx* all have heard.

AT A SOLEMN MUSIC.

2. "*Sphere-born.*" In *Comus* (241) Echo is called "Daughter of the Sphere."——6. "*concent,*" from the Latin *concentus*, "singing together," or harmony.——7—16. "*sapphire-coloured throne,*" etc. Ezek. i. 26; Rev. v. 11 and

vi. 9.——20. "*nature's chime.*" Warton quotes the exact phrase from Ben Jonson.——23. "*perfect diapason.*" *Diapason* (literally "through all") is, in music, "the octave or interval which includes all the notes of the scale."——28. "*Consort*": the word is so spelt in both Milton's own editions, and not "*concert*" as in some modern ones. *Consortium*, in Latin, means "society."

On Time.

3. "*Whose speed is but the heavy plummet's pace,*" *i.e.* the slow rate of descent of the leaden weights in a clock. The lines, as the draft of them among the Cambridge MSS. shows, were written "to be set on a clock-case." Compare Shakespeare's Sonnet lxxvii.——12. "*individual*" means here "indivisible," never to be separated. See *Par. Lost*, IV. 486, VII. 382, and XII. 85.——18. "*happy-making sight*": "the plain English," says Newton, "of Beatific Vision."——21. "*Attired with stars.*" Either "clothed with stars," or, as Mr. Keightley suggests, "crowned with stars." He produces instances of "attire" meaning head-dress.

Upon the Circumcision.

1—5. "*Ye flaming Powers,*" etc. The "flaming Powers" are the Seraphim (which name in Hebrew implies "burning"); the "wingèd Warriors" may be the Cherubim. Gabriel is styled the "wingèd warrior," *Par. Lost*, IV. 576. Todd quotes from Tasso the very phrase "wingèd warriors" ("*guerrieri alati*").——6—9. "*if . . . your fiery essence can distil no tear, burn in your sighs,*" etc.: *i.e.* "if it is impossible for your Angelic constitutions, formed as they are of fire, to yield tears, yet, by burning as you sigh, you may borrow the water of our tears, turned into vapour."——10. "*whilere*": a little while ago.——15, 16. "*O more exceeding love,*" etc. This begins the second stanza of the piece; but the stanzas are not separated in the original editions.

Comus.

9, 10. "*the crown that Virtue gives, after this mortal change.*" See Rev. iv. 4. The meaning of "*mortal*

change" is a little obscure. Hastily it may be read as if it meant "death"; but rather it seems to mean "this mortal state of life."

11. "*Amongst the enthroned gods*": spelt *enthron'd* in the First and Second editions, and therefore to be pronounced as a dissyllable and not *enthronèd*.

16. "*ambrosial weeds.*" Though, from the special use of *ambrosia* as the name for the food of the gods, we are apt to confine the adjective *ambrosial* to the sense of "delicious," it really means "immortal"; whence "celestial."

20, 21. "*Took in, by lot 'twixt high and nether Jove, imperial rule,*" etc. Homer calls Hades or Pluto Ζεὺς καταχθόνιος, or "underground Jove" (*Iliad*, ix. 457); and Ovid has the phrase "Jupiter Stygius." The distribution of rule among Jupiter, Pluto, and Neptune, after Saturn's overthrow, is described by Neptune himself in the *Iliad* (xv. 190 *et seq.*).

23. "*unadornèd*": for "otherwise unadorned."

27. "*this Isle.*" Great Britain.

29. "*He quarters to his blue-haired deities.*" There seems to be some emphasis on the phrase "*blue-haired deities,*" as if these were a special section of the "*tributary gods*" of line 24. Can there be a recollection of "blue" as the British colour, inherited from the old times of the blue-stained Britons who fought with Cæsar?

30. "*this tract that fronts the falling sun.*" Wales or West Britain.

31—33. "*A noble Peer,*" etc. The Earl of Bridgewater. See Introd.

33. "*An old and haughty nation,*" *i.e.* the Welsh. Milton, like Shakespeare, had a kindness for this people.

45. "*hall or bower,*" a frequent phrase with Spenser and the minstrel-poets: "*hall*" being the great general room in princely residences, and "*bower*" the private apartment.

46—50. "*Bacchus,*" etc. The story of the voyage of Bacchus along the Tyrrhene shore, and of the seizure of him by pirates there, who were transformed into dolphins for this act of impiety, is told in the Homeric hymn to Bacchus and in Ovid's *Metam.* iii. The bringing of Bacchus, after this adventure, to Circe's island of Ææa, off the Latian coast, is Milton's invention, with a view to the parentage he

had resolved on for Comus. The visit of Ulysses to the island is a famous incident of the *Odyssey*.

50—53. "*Who knows not Circe?*" etc. She was the daughter of Helios (the Sun) by an ocean-nymph; and the *Odyssey* tells how, by her enchantments, she turned mortals into bestial shapes and kept them on her island.

54—58. "*This Nymph . . . had by him . . . a son . . . Comus named.*" On referring to *L'Allegro*, 14-16, it will be seen that, if Milton adheres to the first of his two alternative genealogies for Euphrosyne, or Innocent Mirth, then Comus, the god of sensual Delirium, was her half-brother. Bacchus was the father of both; but the respective mothers were the good-tempered Queen Venus and Circe the island-witch. Milton may have had a meaning in this.

60. "*the Celtic and Iberian fields.*" Gaul and Spain.

61. "*this ominous wood,*" *i.e.* this wood in Shropshire, on the Welsh border, full of *omens*, or magical appearances.

65. "*orient liquor*": literally "eastern," but derivatively "bright," "splendid," as in *Par. Lost*, I. 546.

66. "*drouth*": so in Milton's own editions, not "*drought,*" as in some later.

72. "*All other parts remaining as they were.*" Here Milton deviates from the representation in the *Odyssey*, where the whole bodies of Circe's victims are changed into brute-forms. It is an acute remark of Newton that the deviation served stage-purposes.

73—77. "*And they . . . not once perceive their foul disfigurement, but,*" etc. Another deviation, as Newton noted, from the Homeric account. There Circe's victims "had the heads, and voice, and hairs, and body of swine, but their understandings were firm as before." In making the effect of Comus's transformations different in this respect from his mother's Milton had a meaning. Once he had adopted the difference, however, Homer's description of the Lotos-eaters (*Od.*, ix. 94 *et seq.*) and Plato's ethical application of the same (*Rep.*, viii. 13) may have helped him in the rest of the passage. "Whoever ate of the pleasant fruit of the lotos no longer wished to bring back news, nor to return home, but preferred to remain there with the Lotophagi, eating lotos, and to be forgetful of return." So says Homer; and Plato speaks of the moral lotophagus, or youth

steeped in sensuality, as accounting his very viciousness a developed manhood, and the so-called virtues but signs of rusticity.

83. "*Iris' woof.*" Compare *P. L.*, XI. 244.

84. "*a swain that to the service of this house belongs,*" etc. A compliment to Lawes, put into his own mouth.

92. "*viewless*": invisible. A word used by Milton in two other places,—*The Passion*, 50, and *Par. Lost*, III. 518. It is a peculiarly Shakespearian word: "*To be imprisoned in the viewless winds*" (*Meas. for Meas.*, III. 1).

93. "*The star that bids the shepherd fold*": *i.e.* the evening star, or the first star seen at eventide. Keightley quotes Shakespeare's exactly opposite expression for the morning star: "*Look, the unfolding star calls up the shepherd*" (*Meas. for Meas.* IV. 2).

113. "*watchful spheres.*" See notes, *Pens.* 88, 89, and *Arcad.* 63-73.

115. "*sounds and seas,*" *i.e.* straits and open seas.

116. "*wavering morrice,*" *i.e.* in wavering dance-like undulation. *Morrice* was originally one kind of dance that came from Spain, and was called the *Moorish dance*, *morisco*, or *morris-dance.*—Observe the alliteration in the line.

118. "*the pert fairies and the dapper elves.*" *Pert* (also *piert* and *peart* in O. E.), lively, nimble, is by some connected with the word *pretty*. *Dapper*, same as Ger. *tapfer*, quick.

121. "*wakes.*" A "wake" in old England was the watch or sitting-up till late before one of the Church holidays; hence a merry-making.

129. "*Dark-veiled Cotytto*": a Thracian Divinity, whose festival was celebrated by orgies on the hills.

132. "*spets*": ejects, throws forth. The word, which strikes us now as so much more energetic and tasteful than "spits," is really but a form of that word. It was common among the Elizabethans.

135. "*Hecat'.*" The dark goddess *Hecate* is a shadowy and unsettled personage in the ancient mythology, and various origins are assigned to her; but, on the whole, she is derived from Thrace,—which may account for Milton's fancy of her and Cotytto riding together through the darkness in the same ebony chariot. She was essentially, in later

representations at least, the goddess of all kinds of nocturnal ghastliness, such as spectral sights, the howlings of dogs, haunted spots, the graves of the murdered, witches at their incantations.

139. "*The nice Morn on the Indian steep.*" In this exquisite picture "*nice*" means "dainty" or "fastidious as to what she saw"; and the word must have come with a touch of sarcasm from Comus.

141. "*descry*": reveal, describe; a common Spenserian sense of the word.

153, 154. "*Thus I hurl,*" etc. At this point imagine the actor who personated Comus flinging from his hand, or making a gesture of flinging, a magical powder, with the result, by some stage-device, of a flash of coloured light.

166—169. "*I shall appear,*" etc. It is rather difficult to decide what should be the text of this passage. In the edition of 1645 it stood

"I shall appear som harmles Villager
Whom thrift keeps up about his Country gear,
But here she comes, I fairly step aside
And hearken, if I may, her busines here."

In the Edition of 1673 the passage stood thus:—

"I shall appear some harmles Villager
And hearken, if I may, her busines here.
But here she comes, I fairly step aside."

But there is a direction among the Errata of this edition to leave out the comma after "*may*" in the second of these lines and to change "*here*" in the same line into "*hear.*"— I rather think the reading of the Second edition as amended was what Milton finally resolved on, as it ends Comus's speech abruptly with a line left unrhymed; but, as the omission of a line would disturb uniformity of numbering with all extant editions, I retain the reading of the First edition, only giving that edition the superfluous benefit of the Erratum in the Second.

175. "*granges,*" granaries, farm-steads (*granum*, grain).

188—190. "*when the grey-hooded Even,*
Like a sad votarist in palmer's weed,
Rose from the hindmost wheels of Phœbus' wain."

If this fine image is optically realized, what we see is

Evening succeeding Day as the figure of a venerable grey-hooded mendicant might slowly follow the wheels of some rich man's chariot.

205—209. "*A thousand fantasies begin to throng into my memory, of calling shapes,*" etc. As the Lady here expressly says that she began to think of all the weird stories of supernatural sights and sounds she had ever read or heard of, so Milton too may be supposed to draw on his memory of books in the description. Mr. Browne's remark that "the *Tempest* may well have suggested the whole imagery" is to the point.

225. "*And casts.*" We should now write "*And cast.*" See Essay on Milton's English, p. 196.

231. "*thy airy shell,*" the hollow vault of the atmosphere.

232. "*Meander's margent green.*" Mr. Keightley suggests that Mæander, the river in Asia Minor so celebrated for its windings, may have been here selected as one of Echo's haunts for that very reason.

237. "*thy Narcissus*": the youth for whose love Echo pined away till only her voice was left, and who was afterwards punished for his insensibility by being made to fall in love with his own image in a fountain, and at length turned into the flower that bears his name.

241. "*Daughter of the Sphere.*" Compare *At a Solemn Music*, i. 2.

244—248. "*Can any mortal mixture,*" etc. In the performance at Ludlow this, besides its relation to the story, would come as a compliment to the Lady Alice's singing.

248. "*his hidden residence.*" One of the most striking possible instances of Milton's abstinence from the mongrel word *its*. The antecedent to which "*his*" refers is "*something holy*"; and we should inevitably have written *its*.

252—257. "*I have oft heard,*" etc. In the *Odyssey* the Sirens or Singing Maidens who lured mariners to their destruction are not companions of Circe. But Circe sang herself, and had Naiads, or fountain-nymphs, among her handmaidens, who helped her to cull her herbs.

257—259. "*Scylla . . . and fell Charybdis,*" etc. Homer places the island of the Sirens to the south-west of Italy, not far from Scylla and Charybdis.

258. "*barking waves.*" A translation of Virgil's "*latrantibus undis*" (*Æn.* VII. 588).

267, 268. "*Unless the goddess that in rural shrine Dwell'st here.*"
Two deviations from normal English syntax here; for the regular construction would be "Unless *thou be* the goddess that in rural shrine *dwells* here."

271. "*ill is lost*": a Latin idiom, as Mr. Keightley points out,—"*male perditur*": "there is little loss in losing."

287. "*Imports their loss, beside the present need?*" "Apart from the present inconvenience, would their loss be of importance?"

293. "*swinked,*" laboured, fatigued.

297—304. "*Their port was more than human,*" etc. Note in this passage the cleverly-introduced compliment to the two boys, Lord Brackley and Mr. Thomas Egerton, who were about to come on the stage.

299. "*the element,*" *i.e.* the sky or air. Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*, I. I, has—

> "The element itself, till seven years' heat,
> Shall not behold her face at ample view."

In the same play (III. I) the Clown says to Viola, "Who you are and what you would are out of my welkin; I might say 'element,' but the word is over-worn."

301. "*awe-strook.*" See note, *Ode Nat.* 95.

317, 318. "*or the low-roosted lark From her thatched pallet rouse.*"
On this passage Mr. Keightley comments thus:—"The ideas here belong rather to a hen-house than to the resting-place of the lark, which has no *thatch* over it, and in which, as it is on the ground, he does not *roost.* Milton, whose mornings were devoted to study rather than to rambles in the fields, does not seem to have known much of the habits of the lark. Compare *L'Allegro*, V. 41." Now, as we have seen that the charge of incorrect description, and ignorance of the habits of the lark, deduced from the passage in *L'Allegro* so referred to, arises from a gross misreading of the passage and neglect of its obvious syntax (see note on the passage), so here we believe the repeated charge springs equally from a misapprehension. *Roost,* though it has come to mean to rest on trees or on timber-joists, contains in it not the less the general sense of "*rest*";

and by "*the low-roosted lark*" Milton means simply "the lark in her low resting-place." The very phrase calls attention to the fact that the lark does not roost on trees like other birds, but has a nest on the ground. As for "*thatched*" applied to this nest or "*pallet*," surely the texture of the nest itself, or the corn-stalks or rushes over it, might be called "the thatch." Few birds, except those in the "hen-house," have a thatch over them in any other sense.

323—327. "*courtesy, which oft is sooner found*," etc. Though the word *courtesy* is derived from *court*, yet, says the Lady, the thing is not always so readily found now in courts as in humbler places. Here she differs from Spenser, as quoted by Newton :—

> "Of Court it seems men Courtesie do call,
> For that it there most useth to abound."
> *F. Q.*, VI. i. 1.

341, 342. "*our star of Arcady, or Tyrian Cynosure.*" For *Cynosure* see note, *L'Alleg.* 80. It was the Phœnician mariners that steered by that constellation, and hence it is called *Tyrian*. The Greek mariners steered by the adjacent constellation of the Greater Bear, and "*star of Arcady*" here means any conspicuous star in that constellation. For it was the nymph Callisto, daughter of the *Arcadian* king Lycaon, that was turned into the Great Bear, and called Arctos, while it was her son Arcas that was whirled up beside her as the Lesser Bear or Tyrian Cynosure.

370. "(*Not being in danger, as I trust she is not.*)" In very strict syntax "not being" would cling to "want" as its substantive; but the phrase passes for the Latin ablative absolute.

380. "*all to-ruffled.*" In Milton's own texts this phrase is printed without any hyphen as three distinct words, "*all to ruffl'd*": and, as that does not make sense in our present printing, the question has arisen whether the reading should be *all too ruffled* (*i.e.* "all too much ruffled," as in such phrases as "all too sad to tell"), or "*all-to ruffled*" (where *all-to* would be an old adverb meaning *completely*), or "*all to-ruffled*" (where "*to-ruffled*" would be taken as the participle of a verb compounded of the simple verb and the intensifying prefix *to*, and meaning "to ruffle greatly"). Something

may be said for each reading; but, on the whole, the last may be chosen. In the authorised English Bible of 1611 (Judges ix. 53) we read "And a certain woman cast a millstone upon Abimelech's head and all to-brake his skull" (*i.e.* smashed, broke to pieces); and other instances are found of verbs with the intensifying prefix *to*. See Dr. Aldis Wright's *Bible Word-Book*, Art. "All-to"; and Abbott's *Shakespearian Grammar*, pars. 280, 436.

382. "*i' the centre*," *i.e.* as if at the centre of the Earth, which, according to the old Ptolemaic astronomy, was also the central and one steady point of the whole Universe. The idea came easily to Milton; but *centre* in this sense, or in the sense of the Earth itself, was a common one. Thus, in *Hamlet*, II. 2, Polonius says:—

> "I will find
> Where truth is hid, though it were hid indeed
> Within the centre."

393—395. "*the fair Hesperian tree*," etc. The golden apples of Juno were in charge of the nymphs called the Hesperides, and were watched in their gardens by the sleepless dragon Ladon. It was one of the labours of Hercules to slay the dragon and obtain the apples.

395. "*unenchanted*": in the sense of "incapable of being enchanted." See note, *L'Allegro*, 40.

401. "*Danger will wink on Opportunity*." A quaint metaphor. The image suggested is that of a sentry, who has been set to prevent people from going a particular road, winking to some friend of his who breaks the prohibition, and letting him pass as if he did not see him.

420. "*'Tis chastity, my brother, chastity*." The passage which begins here and ends at line 475 is a concentrated expression of the moral of the whole Masque, and an exposition also of a cardinal idea of Milton's philosophy.

421. "*complete steel*." The accent is on the first syllable of *complete*, as it also is in the line from *Hamlet*, I. 4, where the same phrase occurs.

426. "*bandite or mountaineer*." *Bandite*, so spelt in Milton's editions, and probably rather a new word about Milton's time, is from the Italian *bandito*, an outlaw (literally "declared under ban"). *Mountaineer*: Warton notes the fact that this word had a bad sense, like *bandit*. See

Cymbeline, Act IV. sc. 2, where it occurs several times as an epithet of opprobrium: thus, "called me traitor, mountaineer."

432. "*Some say no evil thing*," etc. Undoubtedly, here, as Warton remarked, Milton had the passage in *Hamlet*, I. I, in his mind:—

> "Some say that, ever 'gainst that season comes
> Wherein our Saviour's birth is celebrated,
> The bird of dawning singeth all night long:
> And then, they say, no spirit dares stir abroad."

434, 435. "*unlaid ghost,*
That breaks his magic chains at curfew time."

For *curfew* see note, *Pens.* 74. The popular superstition was that ghosts and other supernatural beings had liberty to begin their wanderings at the sound of the evening bell. Warton quotes, in illustration, Edgar's speech in *King Lear*, III. 4: "This is the foul fiend Flippertigibbet; he begins at curfew, and walks till the first cock."

438—440. "*Do ye believe me yet, or shall I call*
Antiquity from the old schools of Greece?" etc.

The Brother has hitherto been quoting popular superstitions of the Northern or Gothic mythology, which was also the native English; but he is now to cite the more lightsome legends of Greek antiquity in proof of his doctrine. Accordingly, from line 441 to line 452, we have a sublimation of the legends of the two virgin goddesses Diana and Minerva.

453. "*So dear to Heaven is saintly chastity*
That," etc.

The language of mythological allusion now ceases, and the speaker passes, in his own name, into a strain of Platonic philosophy tinged with Christianity. It lasts to the end of his speech, line 475.

459—463. "*Till oft converse,*" etc. Here we have the germ of the peculiar physio-metaphysical speculation afterwards developed more at length in Raphael's speech to Adam in *Par. Lost*, V. 404-503.

467—475. "*The soul grows clotted by contagion,*
Imbodies, and imbrutes, till," etc.

As, by purity and heavenly converse, the body may rise into identity with spirit, so, by sensuality, the soul may sink into

identity with body,—may *imbody* and *imbrute* (words possibly of Milton's coining: see *Par. Lost*, IX. 166), till her divine essence is lost. Warton perceived that here Milton was appropriating a passage in Plato's *Phædo*.

474. "*sensualty.*" So spelt in the First and Second Editions, but in most editions now printed "*sensuality*"; which mars the metre.

476—479. "*How charming is divine Philosophy!*" etc. A special compliment to Plato, who has just been quoted.

484. "*night-foundered*": swallowed up in night, as a ship is in the sea when she *founders* (*i.e.* goes to the bottom). The word reappears in *Par. Lost*, I. 204.

490. "*That hallo I should know.*" These words are distinctly printed in both Milton's editions as a continuation of the Elder Brother's speech; else we might assign them to the Attendant Spirit, who has just entered in the habit of a Shepherd. In fact, a stage-direction, printed in Lawes's edition of 1637, but omitted in Milton's editions, ought to have been retained: "*He hallos; the Guardian Dæmon hallos again, and enters in the habit of a Shepherd.*"

494, 495. "*Thyrsis! whose artful strains have oft,*" etc. The compliment here, as the audience would see at once, though professedly to the supposed shepherd Thyrsis, was really to the actor of the part, Henry Lawes.

495—512. Was the introduction of such a rhymed passage into a blank-verse dialogue a mere freak, or had it any significance? Probably Milton, having spoken of the "*madrigals*" of Thyrsis, wanted to prolong the feeling of Pastoralism by calling up the cadence of known English Pastoral Poems.

515—518. "*What the sage poets,*" etc. The reference is especially to Homer and Virgil, some of whose stories correspond to the description.

529, 530. "*unmoulding Reason's mintage charactered in the face.*" The metaphor is from the melting down of a coin. *Charáctered*, accented on the second syllable. In *Hamlet* (I. 2) Polonius says to his son,

> "And these few precepts in thy memory
> See thou charácter."

In both cases the meaning is the original one of the Greek word χαρακτήρ, an impressed or engraved mark or stamp.

548. "*ere a close,*" *i.e.* before he had finished his song.

552—554. "*Till an unusual stop of sudden silence*
Gave respite to the drowsy-flighted steeds," etc.
There has been much dispute as to the proper reading of this passage. Both Milton's printed editions give "*drowsie frighted*" in two distinct words, and so does Lawes's edition of 1637; but the Cambridge MS. gives "*drowsy flighted.*" If this last is hyphened, as was evidently intended, we have a very poetical epithet, much in Milton's manner—*drowsy-flighted, i.e.* "always drowsily-flying"; and clearly the choice lies between this and the "*drowsy frighted*" unhyphened—*i.e.* "the drowsy steeds that had been frightened."

555—562. "*At last a soft,*" etc. A renewed compliment (see previous note, 244—248) to the Echo-song of the Lady, and in language of memorable splendour.

586—599. "*Against the threats,*" etc. A peculiarly Miltonic passage.

604. "*Under the sooty flag of Acheron*": *i.e.* of Hell, where Acheron was a river. Todd quotes from Phineas Fletcher's *Locusts* (1627) the line "All hell run out, and sooty flags display."

605. "*Harpies,*" unclean bird-shaped creatures; "*Hydras,*" water-serpents.

619—630. "*a certain shepherd-lad,*" etc. Probably a reference to Milton's bosom-friend, the half-Italian Diodati, practising as a young physician when *Comus* was written. Compare *Epitaph. Dam.* 150-154.

636, 637. "*than that Moly,*" etc. See Introd. p. 48. The plant Moly given to Ulysses by Hermes, to protect him against the charms and drugs of Circe (*Odyss.* x.), is thus described: "It was black at the root, and its flower was milk-white; the gods call it *Moly*, but it is difficult for mortal men to dig it up."

638. "*He called it Hæmony.*" Milton invents this name for his imaginary plant. *Hæmonia* was an old name for Thessaly, especially a land of magic with the Greeks. Spenser speaks of "the grassie bancks of *Hæmony.*"

642. "*little reckoning made*": same in *Lycidas*, 116.

655. "*Or, like the sons of Vulcan, vomit smoke.*" The giant Cacus, the son of Vulcan, does this in the *Æneid* (viii. 251-3), in his last struggle.

661, 662. "*as Daphne was,*" etc. The story of the nymph Daphne, turned into a laurel-tree as she was chased by Apollo, is told in Ovid (*Met.* 1).

672—674. "*this cordial julep here, that flames . . . in his crystal bounds, with . . . syrups mixed.*" *Julep*, literally "rose-water" (from the Persian), had come to mean any bright medical liquid; *syrup* (from an Arabic word meaning "to drink") meant a sugared liquid or essence. Note the form *his* applied to so inanimate a thing as a "julep."

675, 676. "*that Nepenthes which,*" etc. In the *Odyssey* Helen gives to her husband Menelaus, mixed with his wine, an opiate which she had obtained from Polydamna, the Egyptian, the wife of Thone. It was called *nepenthes* ("pain-dispelling"), and was of wonderful virtue.

680—689. "*which Nature lent,*" etc. The meaning is, "Nature lent you this personal beauty on certain conditions, one of which—the *unexempt* one, the most binding one, from which no human being can be exempt—was refreshment after fatigue; and yet you, like an unjust borrower, subvert the agreement, even in the most essential particular, inasmuch as all this while you have gone without repast or needful rest." Steevens cited Shakespeare's Sonnet IV. for a certain similarity of idea; and the comparison is worth while. Observe the distance of "*that*" in line 688 from its antecedent "*you*" in line 682.

695. "*oughly-headed.*" So in Milton's text.

702, 703. "*None*
But such as are good men can give good things."
Almost a translation, as Newton pointed out, of line 618 in the *Medea* of Euripides.

707. "*budge doctors of the Stoic fur.*" The word *budge* itself meant *fur* at one time; and a "budge-gown" or furred gown indicated a certain Academic grade. The word, however, was used also as an adjective for "stout" or "portly"; and the two meanings seem to be combined here.

721. "*Should, in a pet of temperance, feed on pulse.*" The food of Daniel and the other three children of Israel.

739—755. "*Beauty is Nature's coin . . . you are but young yet.*" The idea that runs through these seventeen lines is a favourite one with the old poets; and Warton and Todd cite parallel passages from Shakespeare, Spenser,

Daniel, Fletcher, and Drayton. Thus, from Shakespeare (*Mids. N. Dr.* I. 1) :—

> " Earthlier happy is the rose distilled
> Than that which, withering on the virgin thorn,
> Grows, lives, and dies, in single blessedness."

See also Shakespeare's first six Sonnets, which are pervaded by the idea in all its subtleties, and his *Venus and Adonis*, lines 163—174, where it reappears.

*or texture? 750. "*sorry grain*," poor colour.* See note *P. L.* v. 285.

760. "*bolt her arguments.*" A metaphor from the miller's process of *bolting*, or separating the meal from the bran.

768—774. "*If every just man*," etc. As a parallel passage to this striking one, Todd quotes Gloucester's address to the supposed madman in *K. Lear*, IV. 1.

780—799. "*To him that dares*," etc. A recurrence, by the sister, with even more mystic fervour, to that Platonic and Miltonic doctrine which had already been propounded by the Elder Brother (see lines 420—475 and note).

803—806. "*as when the wrath of Jove*," etc. The reference is to the wars of Zeus against Cronos (Saturn) and the Titans.

809, 810. " . . . *'tis but the lees*
And settlings of a melancholy blood."

A phrase from the old physiological system of the "humours." Todd aptly quotes a passage in illustration from Nash's *Terrors of the Night* (1594) :—"The grossest part of our blood is the melancholy humour; which, in the spleen congealed (whose office it is to disperse it), with his thick-steaming fenny vapours, casts a mist over the spirit . . . It [melancholy] sinketh down to the bottom like the lees of the wine, corrupteth all the blood, and is the cause of lunacy."

822. "*Melibœus old.*" Possibly Geoffrey of Monmouth.

823. "*soothest*," truest. Said ironically, if Geoffrey of Monmouth was Melibœus.

826—857. "*Sabrina is her name*," etc. The legend of Sabrina, as told in Geoffrey of Monmouth, repeated in Spenser, Drayton, and other poets, and afterwards related in prose by Milton himself in his *History of Britain*, is as follows :—Brutus the Trojan, the second founder of the British nation, left his dominions divided among his three sons. Locrine, the eldest, took the chief part (now England); Camber took the west (now Wales); Albanact took the

north (now Scotland). Cornwall meanwhile remained a separate sovereignty under Corineus, the giant-killer, the old co-partner of Brutus. Soon, however, there came a great invasion of Huns, under their king, Humber; Albanact was killed; and there was a coalition of all the British populations, under Locrine as chief, to resist the Huns. The Huns were routed, and their king was drowned in the river which now bears his name. Among the spoils left by Humber, however, was a German princess of matchless beauty, called Estrildis; and Locrine fell in love with her. As he had been previously engaged to Guendolen, the daughter of Corineus, this caused scandal; and Corineus compelled Locrine to fulfil his engagement. But for seven years Estrildis was kept secretly in Locrine's palace, where she bore him a most beautiful daughter, Sabre or Sabrina, just when Queen Guendolen had borne him a son, Madan. At last, Corineus having died, Locrine divorced Guendolen, and acknowledged Estrildis and her daughter. But Guendolen was a woman of spirit; and, rousing her own Cornish people, she fought a battle with her husband, in which he was slain. Thus supreme in Britain, and ruling it for her son Madan, she took revenge on her rival and her innocent daughter. "She commanded Estrildis and her daughter Sabre," says Geoffrey, "to be thrown into the river now called Severn, and published an edict through all Britain that the river should bear the damsel's name, hoping by this to perpetuate her memory, and by that the infamy of her husband." In Spenser (*F. Q.* II. x.) it is only Sabrina that is so drowned, her mother being disposed of otherwise; and in this Milton follows Spenser, changing also other particulars.

835. "*aged Nereus' hall.*" The hall of Nereus, the father of the Nereids or sea-nymphs, deep down in the sea.

838. "*nectared lavers strewed with asphodil,*" *i.e.* "in baths into which nectar had been dropped, and in which flowers of asphodel floated." *Asphodel* (whence our word *daffodil*) was a flower of the lily kind, the perfect mythical variety of which grew in the meadows of Heaven.

839. "*through the porch,*" etc. Perhaps, as Newton pointed out, a recollection of *Hamlet*, I. 5:—

> "And in the porches of my ears did pour
> The leperous distilment."

845. "*urchin blasts,*" *i.e.* evil strokes from the malicious hedgehog. Warton cited Caliban's speech in the *Tempest* (ii. 2) in illustration of the old dread of the hedgehog.

846. "*the shrewd meddling elf.*" Some cleverer brother of Robin Goodfellow. See *L'Alleg.* 105, and note.

852. "*as the old swain said,*" *i.e.* the Meliboeus of line 822. But neither Geoffrey of Monmouth nor Spenser has this development of the legend.

867—889. "*Listen, and appear to us,*" etc. The mythological allusions in this ditty may be thus explained:—*Oceanus* was the most ancient sea-god, the god of the ocean-stream encircling the whole earth; *Neptune*, with his trident, was a later being. *Tethys* was the wife of Oceanus, and mother of the river-gods. "*Hoary Nereus*" is the "aged *Nereus*" of line 835. The "*Carpathian wizard*" is the subtle *Proteus*, ever shifting his shape: he dwelt in a cave in the island of Carpathus; and he had a "hook," because he was the shepherd of the sea-calves. *Triton*, son of Neptune and Aphrodite, though he had a palace in the sea-depths, generally rode on the waves atop, blowing his shell-trumpet: he was "scaly," because the lower part of him was fish. *Glaucus* was a Bœotian fisherman who had been changed into a marine god: he haunted coasts of sea-weed, and was an oracle for sailors and fishermen. *Leucothea* ("the white goddess") was originally Ino, the daughter of Cadmus, and had received her new name after she had drowned herself and been converted into a sea-deity. "*Her son that rules the strands*" was Melicertes, drowned and deified with her, and thenceforward known as *Palæmon* or *Portumnus*, the god of bays and harbours. *Thetis*, one of the daughters of Nereus, and therefore a sea-deity by birth, married Peleus, and was the mother of Achilles: Homer calls her "silver-footed." Of the *Sirens* or singing sea-nymphs (see note, 252—257) *Parthenope* and *Ligea* were two. The "dear tomb" of the first was at Naples (see the third Latin piece *Ad Leonoram Romæ canentem*); the "golden comb" of the second is from stories of our own mermaids.

890. "*rushy-fringèd.*" An adjective formed, as it were, from a previous compound noun, "*rushy-fringe*"; unless, by a very forced device, for which there is no authority, we should resolve the word thus, "*rush-yfringed.*"

This is wrong v. Trinity MS. where it appears in Milton's handwriting as "rushy-fringed"

893, 894. "*azurn . . . turkis.*" Todd derives the form

"*azurn*" (azure) from the Ital. *azzurino*, as *cedarn* in a following line (990) may be from the Ital. *cedrino* (made of cedar).—*Turkis* (now *turquoise*) is the Turkish-stone, so called because, though Persian, it came by way of Turkey.

897—899. "*Thus I set my printless feet*
O'er the cowslip's velvet head,
That bends not as I tread."

The mere phrase "printless feet," as Warton noted, is from Shakespeare (*Tempest*, V. 1):—

> "Ye elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes and groves,
> And ye that on the sands with printless foot
> Do chase the ebbing Neptune."

But the special fancy of a light tread, as scarcely bending the heads of flowers, is immemorial among poets.

921. "*Amphitrite's bower.*" She was the wife of Neptune and Queen of the Sea.

922, 923. "*daughter of Locrine, sprung of old Anchises' line.*" See previous note, 826—857; and complete Sabrina's genealogy by remembering that Brutus, her grandfather, was the son of Silvius, the son of Ascanius, the son of the great Æneas, the son of the aged Anchises.

924—937. "*May thy brimmèd waves . . . groves of myrrh and cinnamon.*" The whole of this poetic blessing on the Severn and its neighbourhood, involving the wish of what we should call "solid commercial prosperity," would go to the heart of the assemblage at Ludlow.

934—937. "*May thy lofty head be crowned,*" etc. The syntax of this passage has so puzzled commentators that they have supposed some misprint in the text; but all is made perfectly clear, I think, by the observation of a critic, Mr. Calton, quoted by Todd, that Milton must have had in view two Greek verbs, one (περιστεφανόω) meaning "to put a crown round," the other (ἐπιστεφανόω) "to put a crown upon." The construction then is "May thy lofty head be *crowned round* with many a tower and terrace, and thy banks here and there be *crowned upon* with groves of myrrh and cinnamon."

946, 947. "*And not many furlongs hence*
Is your father's residence."

As the play was going on *within* that residence, the words may have had a whimsical effect. Of course, however,

what scenery there was on the stage represented them as still in the "gloomy covert," some furlongs from Ludlow.

958—965. "*Back, shepherds, back,*" etc. Understand that, in the few minutes that have elapsed since the last speech, the Attendant Spirit, the Lady, and her two Brothers, are supposed to have walked the several furlongs intervening between the wood of Comus and Ludlow town and castle. When they come there (and, to aid the fancy that they have done so, the former scene has been removed from the stage and a picture of Ludlow town and castle substituted) it is broad day-light; and they find, as they had expected, the town all astir, welcoming the Earl, and country lads and lasses before the castle dancing—*i.e.* the stage in possession of a number of supernumeraries, dressed as peasants, and engaged in a merry country-dance.

966—975. "*Noble Lord and Lady bright,*" etc. Imagine the cheering when Lawes, advancing with the three young ones, addressed this speech to the Earl and Countess of Bridgewater, they perhaps rising and bowing.

976—979. "*To the ocean,*" etc. These four lines are in the very rhythm and rhyme of the first four of Ariel's song in the *Tempest* (v. 1). In the actual performance of the Masque they and the next sixteen lines, instead of coming here as part of the Epilogue, were used for Prologue (see Introd. pp. 37 and 42).

982, 983. "*Hesperus, and his daughters three,*" etc. Hesperus, brother of Atlas, was the father of the Hesperides. See note, 393—395.

995. "*purfled,*" *i.e.* fringed, embroidered with colours or gold (from French *pourfiler*): a rather common old word.

997—1011. "(*List, mortals, if your ears be true*)," etc. By this parenthesis Milton begs attention to a mystery which he is to propound allegorically. It is that in those celestial regions to which the Spirit is ascending there is not only al physical beauty and delight, but also that true Love of which Comus had apprehended only the vile counterfeit. Yes, whatever of fine and good significance may be discerned in such an earthly myth, say, as that of Venus (identified here with "the Assyrian queen" Astarte) grieving over her wounded Adonis (same as Thammuz: see *P. L.*, I. 446-467)—to *that* Heaven contains something to correspond! Much more is realized there the highly spiritual love set

forth perhaps in the Greek myth of Cupid and Psyche, where Psyche (the Human Soul), parted from her Cupid, has to wander about disconsolate, and undergo sufferings and humiliations, till at last, becoming immortal, she is united to him for ever with the consent of all the gods! In other parts of Milton's writings a highly mystic or Platonic notion of this kind is hinted at as a truth beyond the scope of common spirits. See *Lycid.* 172-177, *Epitaph. Dam.* 212-219, and *P. L.*, VIII. 612-629.

1016, 1017. "*And from thence can soar as soon*
To the corners of the moon."

As Warton pointed out, there is a double touch from Shakespeare here: from *Mids. N. Dr.* (IV. 1), where Oberon sings:—

> "We the globe can compass soon
> Swifter than the wandering moon";

and from Hecate's phrase in *Macbeth* (III. 5):—

> "Upon the corner of the moon
> There hangs a vaporous drop profound."

1021. "*sphery chime.*" See note *Arc.* 63-73.

1022, 1023. "*Or, if Virtue,*" etc. On a certain day, nearly five years after *Comus* was written (June 10, 1639), Milton, passing through Geneva, on his return to England from his Italian journey, was asked to write something in an album kept by the family of a certain Italian, Cerdogni, living there, in which already there were the signatures of many distinguished persons of the time. Complying, he wrote these two last lines of his *Comus*, adding the Latin verse, "*Cælum non animum muto dum trans mare curro,* and his signature, "JOANNES MILTONIUS, ANGLUS." It was as if he said "Wherever I go, the sentiment of the last two lines of my *Comus* is always my fixed belief."

LYCIDAS.

ARGUMENT.—The last word of the Argument is spelt "*height,*" as now, in both Milton's own editions, and not "*highth,*" as usual with him.

1. "*Yet once more, O ye laurels, and once more.*" Three years had elapsed since Milton had written *Comus*, and in that interval, so far as we know, he had done nothing in English verse.—This first line of the poem, it is worth observing, stands without any following rhyme.

5. "*Shatter your leaves before the mellowing year.*" The allusion is not here, as has been supposed, "to the unripe age of his friend," but is personal to Milton himself. The laurel, the myrtle, and the ivy supply wreaths for poets; to pluck their berries or their leaves is to solicit a wreath, *i.e.* to write a poem; to do so before the ripe season is to let oneself be induced to write a poem, perhaps imprudently, by some sudden occasion.

8, 9. "*Lycidas is dead . . . young Lycidas.*" A form of repetition not uncommon: thus in the lines in Spenser's *Astrophel* (Elegy on Sir Philip Sidney) quoted by Mr. Browne:—

> "Young Astrophel, the pride of shepheards praise,
> Young Astrophel, the rustick lasses love."

The name *Lycidas*, chosen by Milton for Edward King, is taken, as was customary in such elegies, from the classic pastorals. It occurs in Theocritus; and Virgil has the name for one of the speakers in his Ninth Eclogue.

10. "*Who would not sing for Lycidas?*" This is after Virgil in his Tenth Eclogue: "Neget quis carmina Gallo?"

10, 11. "*he knew
Himself to sing, and build the lofty rhyme.*"

To "*build the lofty rhyme*" (so spelt here, and not *rime*) has its original, as Newton pointed out, in Horace's "*seu condis amabile carmen*" (Epist. I. iii. 24). For the nature and amount of King's claims to the poetical character, see Introd. II. pp. 50-51.

13. "*Unwept, and welter to the parching wind.*" The second non-rhyming line in the poem.

14. "*melodious tear.*" In Milton's *Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester* (line 55) we have "tears of perfect moan." Curiously enough, Milton's college-fellow Cleveland, in that poem of his on King's death which was bound up in the same volume with *Lycidas* (See Introd. p. 53), says, "*I like not tears in tune.*"—Observe that in the opening paragraph of the poem, which the word *tear*

ends, the sound of that word is the dominant rhyme. It possesses six lines out of the fourteen.

15. *Begin, then, Sisters of the sacred well.*" The Muses, daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne, born at the Pierian fountain under Mount Olympus. This is the third non-rhyming line in the poem.

19—22. "*So may some gentle Muse*
With lucky words favour MY *destined urn*," etc.
I have ventured to italicise the word *my* in this passage, to bring out fully the meaning. It is "Let me, with whatever reluctance, write this memorial poem now, if I would hope that, when *I* am dead, some one may write with kindly interest of *me*."

22. "*And bid fair peace be to my sable shroud!*" The fourth non-rhyming line in the poem.

23—36. "*For we were nursed*," etc. See Introd. p. 50.

26. "*Under the opening eyelids of the Morn.*" This noble phrase is found in older poets, and has been traced by Todd to a marginal variation of the translation of Job iii. 9 in the Authorized Version of the Bible. For "dawning of the day" the margin reads "the eyelids of the morning."

29. "*Battening*," *i.e.* feeding.

34—36. "*Rough Satyrs . . . and Fauns*," miscellaneous Cambridge undergraduates; "*old Damœtas*," perhaps Joseph Meade or some other well-remembered fellow of Christ's. See Memoir, pp. iii.-iv.

39. "*Thee, Shepherd, thee the woods and desert caves.*" The fifth non-rhyming line in the poem.

40. "*gadding*": straggling, restless.

45. "*As killing as the canker to the rose.*" Warton and Todd have noted Shakespeare's fondness for this simile.

50—55. "*Where were ye, Nymphs*," etc. Imitated expressly from Theocritus (*Idyll* i. 66-69) and Virgil (*Ecl.* x. 9-12), but with a substitution of West-British haunts of the Muses for their Greek haunts named in those classic passages.——"*The steep where your old bards, the famous Druids, lie*" may be any of the Welsh mountains; but Warton suggests especially the sepulture of the Druids at Kerig-y-Druidion in South Denbighshire. "*The shaggy top of Mona*" is the high interior of Anglesey, the island retreat of the Druids, once thick with woods. "*Deva*" is the Dee, "the holy Dee," sacred with Druidic and Arthur-

ian legends. Chester, from which King sailed, is on the Dee, at some distance from its mouth, and was the chief port in that part of England before the rise of Liverpool.

51. "*Closed o'er the head of your loved Lycidas.*" The sixth non-rhyming line in the poem.

58—63. "*What could the Muse herself that Orpheus bore,*" etc. The continued grief of Orpheus for his lost Eurydice (see note, *L'All.* 145) so enraged the Thracian women that they fell upon him in one of their orgies and tore him to pieces. The fragments of his body were buried by the Muses with all honour at the foot of Mount Olympus; but his head, having been thrown into the Thracian river Hebrus, was rolled down to the sea, and so carried to the Island of Lesbos, where it was buried separately. Even the Muse Calliope, his mother, could not prevent such a fate.

65. "*the homely, slighted, shepherd's trade,*" *i.e.*, in the established metaphor of the pastoralists, the practice of poetry.

68, 69. "*Amaryllis . . . Neæra.*" Names of imaginary shepherdesses from the Greek and Latin pastorals.

71. ("*That last infirmity of noble mind*"). The sentiment of this celebrated, but generally misquoted, line is found, frequently enough, in writers before Milton; but perhaps the nearest approach in expression is a sentence which Todd quotes from Milton's friend, Sir Henry Wotton. "I will not deny his appetite for glory, which generous minds do ever latest part from," Sir Henry had said of James I. in a *Panegyrick* addressed to Charles.

75. "*the blind Fury with the abhorred shears.*" In strict Mythology the Furies or Erinnyes were distinct beings from the Fates, and Atropos was one of the Fates. While her sister Clotho turned the spindle, and her sister Lachesis pointed to the horoscope of the person whose life-thread was being spun, Atropos stood with her shears, ready to cut the thread at the destined instant. See note *Ep. Mar. Win.* 28.

77. "*and touched my trembling ears.*" A fine poetical appropriation of the popular superstition that the tingling of a person's ears is a sign that people are talking of him. What Milton had been saying about poetic fame might be understood, he saw, as applicable to himself.

79. "*glistering foil,*" shining metallic leaf, as in *tin-foil.*

82. "*And perfect witness of all-judging Jove.*" The seventh non-rhyming line in the poem.

85, 86. "*O fountain Arethuse*": the fountain so called in the island of Ortygia on the Sicilian coast (see note, *Arc.* 30, 31).—"*And thou . . . smooth-sliding Mincius*": the tributary to the Po in northern Italy, near which Virgil had been born. The first stream represented the Greek Pastoral Poetry of Theocritus and other Sicilians; the second the Latin Pastoral.

87, 88. "*That strain I heard was of a higher mood,*" etc.: *i.e.* the speech of Phœbus from line 76 to line 84 had been a burst beyond the simple mood of the Pastoral proper; to which he now returns.

89, 90. "*the Herald of the sea,*" etc.: *i.e.* Triton (note to *Comus* 867—889); who comes, in behalf of Neptune, to inquire what had caused the drowning of Lycidas.

91, 92. "*He asked the waves, and asked the felon winds,*
What hard mishap hath doomed this gentle swain?"
These two lines, coming consecutively, are the eighth and ninth non-rhyming lines in the poem.

96. "*sage Hippotades,*" *i.e.* Æolus, the God of the Winds, son of Hippotes.

99. "*Panope,*" etc. She was one of the Nereids or sea-nymphs; and the meaning is that the sea was as calm as glass when the ship went down.

101. "*Built in the eclipse.*" So, as Warton noted, among the ingredients in the witch-caldron in *Macbeth* (iv. 1) are "slips of yew slivered in the moon's eclipse."

103—107. "*Next Camus,*" etc. The genius of the Cam River and of Cambridge University was naturally one of the mourners for Lycidas. He comes attired in a mantle of the hairy river-weed that floats down the Cam; his bonnet is of the sedge of that river, which exhibits peculiar markings, something like the *αἰ αἰ* ("Alas! alas!") which the Greeks detected on the leaves of the hyacinth, in token of the sad death of the Spartan youth from whose blood the flower had sprung (see note *D. of a Fair Infant,* 23-27).

109. "*The Pilot of the Galilean Lake,*" *i.e.* St. Peter. While the name recalls his original occupation in Galilee, he is introduced, however, in his subsequent character as the apostle to whom Christ had committed so high a charge in

his Church (Matt. xvi. 17-19) and whom he had constituted so expressly the Shepherd of his Flock (John xxi. 15-17).

113—131. "*How well could I have spared for thee, young swain,*" etc. These nineteen lines of the poem, supposed to be spoken by St. Peter, are perhaps the most remarkable passage in it. See Introd. p. 56. Observe the studied contempt and sternness of the phraseology, and even the studied harshness of the sound—"*their bellies' sake*" "*shove away,*" "*Blind mouths*" (a singularly bold figure !), "*grate on their scrannel pipes of wretched straw,*" etc.——The "*grim wolf*" of lines 128, 129, adding stealthy seizures of individual sheep to the evil of the sheep-rot already in the fold through bad tending, is undoubtedly the Church of Rome, the numerous private secessions to which in England in Laud's time were a subject of alarm and complaint among the Puritans. Some of the English bishops, the Royalist Lord Falkland was to say wittily and daringly in a speech in the House of Commons in 1641, were "so absolutely, directly, and cordially Papists that it was all that £1500 a year could do to keep them from confessing it."——The last two lines of the passage are the most obscure. There is the powerful image of some "*two-handed engine*" at the door of the corrupted Church, soon to smite it in, as with the blow of an axe or a battering-ram. But what *is* the implement. If the image is a Biblical one, we are referred to the first three chapters of the Book of Revelation, where St. John sees the awful vision of "one like unto the Son of Man" and receives from him the messages to the Seven Churches of Asia. Part of the description of the divine figure is that "he had in his right hand seven stars" and that "out of his mouth went *a sharp two-edged sword*" (Rev. i. 16). Afterwards (Rev. ii. 12-16) the actual message to one of the Seven Churches, represented as most corrupt, begins "These things saith *he which hath the sharp sword with two edges*"; and, after terrible rebuke of the corrupters, it ends "Repent; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will fight against them *with the sword of my mouth.*" The Apocalyptic agency for the reform of a corrupt Church is certainly, therefore, the two-edged sword of St. John's vision, and Milton is not likely to have overlooked this. It is not unlike him, however, to have let the Apocalyptic suggestion shape itself in his imagination into the optical form of some actual double-

handed agency thought of by himself; and in that case we have not far to seek. The agency by which, three or four years afterwards, the doors of the Church of England *were* dashed in was an English Parliament with its two Houses; and at the time when *Lycidas* was written that was the agency secretly in the minds and hopes of all the Puritans. Or, if this is too prosaic as an interpretation of the prophecy before the fact, yet, as the prophecy fulfilled itself exactly so, might not Milton have known for the first time *after* the fact, as often happens to a prophet, the real meaning of his own symbol?—Milton, it is worth noting, had been preceded by Spenser, fifty-three years before, in this vehement denunciation of hireling shepherds in the Church, and must have had Spenser's verses in his mind. They occur in the dialogue between Palinode and Piers in the May Eclogue in *The Shepheards Calender.*

132—134. "*Return, Alpheus,*" etc. For the second time there has been a burst beyond the limits of the simple Pastoral, and again he returns. This time it is not on Arethusa and Mincius that he calls, as after his first return (85, 86), but on Alpheus. Or rather it is on Alpheus and Arethusa together, both of them one now in the fountain Arethuse in the Sicilian island of Ortygia (see note *Arc.* 30, 31), and therefore jointly the "Sicilian Muse."

138. "*the swart star*": Sirius, the dog-star, which brings heat and swarthiness.

142—151. "*Bring the rathe* [early] *primrose,*" etc. This is the most exquisite flower-and-colour passage in all Milton's poetry. His manuscript shows that he brought it to perfection by additions and afterthoughts.

149. "*amaranthus.*" The name *amaranth* means *unfading* (from the Greek ἀμάραντος), and is given to a kind of plants that last long without withering.

151. "*laureate hearse.*" *Hearse* not in our modern sense of the carriage which conveys a coffin to the grave, but in the older sense of tomb, or even the *coffin* itself (see note to *Epitaph on Marchioness of Winchester*, 58).

152—154. "*For so, to interpose a little ease,*
Let our frail thoughts dally with false surmise,
Ay me! whilst thee," etc.

Milton has been speaking of the "*hearse*" of Lycidas, and

the flowers fit to be strewn upon it in mourning, when he suddenly reminds himself that all that is but a fond fancy, inasmuch as Lycidas had perished at sea, and his body had never been recovered.

156—162. "*Whether beyond the stormy Hebrides,*" etc. See Introd. p. 52.——"*sleep'st by the fable of Bellerus old,*" *i.e.* prosaically, near Land's End in Cornwall. Land's End was the *Bellerium* of the Romans; and Milton himself seems to have invented *Bellerus* as a namefather for the place, imagining him perhaps as one of the old Cornish Britons of the lineage of Corineus (see note, *Comus*, 826-857). Indeed, as the Cambridge MS. draft of the poem shows, he had first written "*Corineus,*" and substituted *Bellerus* for musical reasons.——"*The great Vision of the guarded mount.*" The "guarded mount" is the steep and rocky St. Michael's Mount, opposite the town of Marazion, near Land's End, and connected with the town at low water. The Mount was famous long before Milton's time for the remains on it of an old Norman stronghold and a still older monastery, but especially for a semi-accessible craggy seat, looking out upon the sea, and called "St. Michael's Chair," because the apparition of the Archangel Michael had now and then been seen in it. *He*, therefore, is the "*great Vision*" that guards the Mount. Tourists go to see it now, both for its old celebrity and on account of this mention of it in Milton.——"*Looks to Namancos and Bayona's hold.*" In old maps of Spain *Namancos* is a town in the province of Gallicia, near Cape Finisterre, and *Bayona* is a city on the west coast of the same province. It was a boast of the Cornish people that there was a direct line of sea-view from Land's End passing France altogether and hitting no European land till it reached Spain. Drayton had expressed this in his *Polyolbion*—

> "Then Cornwall creepeth out into the western main,
> As, lying in her eye, she pointed still at Spain."

161. "*Where the great Vision of the guarded Mount.*" The tenth and last non-rhyming line in the poem.

163, 164. "*Look homeward, Angel, now, and melt with ruth:*
And, O ye dolphins, waft the hapless youth."
In the first of these lines (which to me seem the worst in

the poem, and the most like a "conceit") it is no longer Lycidas that is addressed, but the Archangel Michael. Instead of continuing his gaze over the sea to distant Spain, let him turn homeward to the nearer seas, and melt with pity for the youth there drowned. In the second line the allusion is to the legend of the lyrist Arion, who had charmed the dolphins by his singing, and was carried ashore by them when the sailors had thrown him overboard.

165—181. "*Weep no more,*" etc. In this closing strain of the Monody, changing the grief for the loss of Lycidas into joy over the thought of his elevation into the society of Heaven, there is a close resemblance, even to identity of expression, to the closing part (lines 198—219) of the *Epitaphium Damonis*, written two years later.

173. "*Through the dear might of Him that walked the waves.*" Matt. xiv. 22-33. Note the appositeness to the whole subject of the poem in this reference to Christ's power over the waters.

176. "*unexpressive,*" *i.e.* inexpressibly sweet. See *Ode Nat.* 116, and note there.

183, 184. "*Henceforth thou art the Genius of the shore,*" etc. Here, after a contemplation of the state of the dead Lycidas which is purely Christian and Biblical, there is a relapse into the classic manner, and Lycidas is converted into a *numen.*

186—193. "*Thus sang the uncouth swain,*" etc. Note the separateness of this closing stanza from the rest of the poem. It is a stanza of Epilogue, added, as it were, in Milton's own name, and distinguishing him from the imaginary shepherd, or "uncouth (*i.e.* unknown) swain," who has been singing the previous lament for Lycidas. That imaginary shepherd was, of course, Milton too; but in this stanza Milton looks back upon what he had written in that character, and criticises it, or at least characterises it. It had been a "*Doric lay,*" *i.e.* a poem written after the fashion of the bucolic poets, Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus, whose dialect was the Doric variety of the Greek. Nay, in this lay "*the tender stops of various quills*" had been touched: *i.e.* there had been changes of mood and metre.

192, 193. "*At last he rose, and twitched his mantle blue:*
To-morrow to fresh woods, and pastures new."

A peculiarly picturesque ending, in which Milton announces

that he is passing on to other occupations. The last line seems to be an improvement upon one in Phineas Fletcher's *Purple Island*, published in 1633 (VI. 78):—

> "Home, then, my lambs; the falling drops eschew:
> To-morrow shall ye feast in pastures new."

No line of Milton's is more frequently quoted; but it is generally spoilt in the quotation by the substitution of "*fields*" for "*woods.*"

SONNETS AND KINDRED PIECES.

SONNET I.—See note to *Il Pens.* 61-64. "*Warblest*" (line 2) is printed "*warbl'st*" in the First and Second editions, and is to be pronounced accordingly.

SONNET II.—Observe the rhymes "*shew'th*" and "*endu'th*" to "*youth*" and "*truth,*" and see Essay on Milton's English, p. 165.

FIVE ITALIAN SONNETS AND CANZONE.—For the subject of these pieces, and the probable date and circumstances of their composition, see Introd. to them.——Farther annotation of the pieces resolves itself chiefly into a criticism of their Italian style, and a detection of the minute errors or irregularities of idiom which they may contain. The late Sir Antonio Panizzi, of the British Museum, examined them with this view in 1836 (see *Gentleman's Magazine* for November of that year); and the late G. Rossetti contributed some observations on them, much more severe, to Mr. Keightley's edition of Milton's poems in 1859. On the whole, the conclusion is that, though Milton was an accomplished reader and student of Italian, he was not so perfect in the literary use of it but that the foreigner might be detected in some of his phrases and constructions.

SONNET VIII.—(Line 1) "*Colonel*" has to be pronounced as a trisyllable. The old English word was *coronel;* which, says Wedgwood, meant the *captain-coronel*, or chief captain; (*corona*, a crown).——For "*charms*" (line 5) see note *P. L.*, IV. 642.——"*The great Emathian conqueror*" is Alexander the Great, so called after Emathia, part of Macedonia; who, when he sacked the Bœotian city of Thebes and razed it to the ground (B.C. 335), ordered the house of the poet Pindar,

who had died more than a century before, to be carefully preserved.——"*Sad Electra's poet*" is Milton's favourite Euripides, one of whose tragedies is "Electra." The story is that, when the Spartan Lysander had taken Athens and it was proposed to destroy it utterly (B.C. 404), the victors were turned from their purpose by hearing casually repeated some verses from Euripides, then just dead.

SONNET IX.—Observe the rhyme of "*Ruth*," the proper name (line 5), with "*ruth*," the abstract noun, meaning "pity" (line 8). Such rhymes of words identical in sound and spelling, though differing in meaning, are now accounted illegitimate in English verse; but formerly they were allowed. Biblical passages in Milton's mind in the Sonnet are Matt. vii. 13; Luke x. 42; Ruth i. 14-17; Matt. xxv. 1-13, and Rom. v. 5.

SONNET X.—"*that old man eloquent*" is the Athenian orator and statesman Isocrates, who died B.C. 338, at the age of ninety-eight years, just after the fatal battle of Chæroneia, in which Philip of Macedon defeated the Athenians and their Bœotian allies, and crushed the liberties of Greece.——*later-born ... flourished. Flourished* here must mean "was at his best," for the Earl did not die till March 1628-9, when Milton was twenty years old.

SONNET XI.—"*Mile-end Green*": a locality in Whitechapel, about the distance which its name indicates from the central parts of the City of London, and the common terminus in Milton's time of a staid citizen's walk in that direction.——"*Gordon, Colkitto, or Macdonnel, or Galasp.*" These names, which Milton picks out as of no less uncouth sound than the title of his own unfortunate book, were Scottish names recently wafted into England with the news of that extraordinary Scottish episode of the great Civil War which forms the subject of Scott's *Legend of Montrose.* For a whole year the Marquis of Montrose had been displaying the King's standard in Scotland with a success that seemed marvellous, and that threatened at last to be very troublesome to the cause of Parliament in England; and not till Sept. 1645 had he been suppressed by the battle of Philiphaugh. As there had been much talk of him and his doings in England, the names of some of his principal followers had been in men's mouths there as well as his own. Among these followers were the *Gordons* of the

North of Scotland, represented chiefly by two sons of the Marquis of Huntly, one of whom, *Lord Gordon*, had been slain in one of Montrose's battles. Another of Montrose's followers, indeed his Lieutenant-general, was a gigantic Highlander from the western Scottish Isles, belonging to the Scoto-Irish race of the Macdonnels, whose chief was the Irish Earl of Antrim. He rejoiced in a name which, when given properly and in full in Gaelic, was *Alastair Macdonnel, Mac-Cholla-Chiotach, Mhic-Ghiollesbuig, Mhic-Alastair, Mhic-Eoin Chathanaich, i.e.* Alexander Macdonnel, son of Colkittoch, son of Gillespie, son of Alexander, son of John Cathanach. In the Lowlands, where the tongue could not manage such a name, he was spoken of as "Alexander Macdonnel the younger, son of Colkittoch," or sometimes as "young Colkittoch," with or without the addition of "Mac-Gillespie." The name "Colkittoch," which means "left-handed," denoted a personal peculiarity of the young warrior, inherited from his father. This single Celt, therefore, legends of whose strength and fighting-prowess long survived in the Highlands, was Milton's *Macdonnel, Colkitto*, and *Galasp*, all in one. A very different person was *George Gillespie*, one of the Scottish Divines of the Westminster Assembly; but his name must have been very familiar to Milton too, and it is possible that in his *Galasp* he glanced at him as well as at his wilder namesake.——"*Quintilian*": the most famous teacher of Rhetoric among the Romans, in whose master-work on Education much is said about elegance in the choice of words.——"*Sir John Cheek*" (1514-1557) was the first Professor of Greek at Cambridge, fixed the English pronunciation of the language, and taught it privately to young King Edward VI.——"*like ours.*" We should now write "*unlike ours.*"

SONNET XII.—"*Latona's twin-born progeny*": Apollo and Diana. When their mother, Leto or Latona, carrying them in her arms, and fleeing from the wrath of Juno, stooped in her fatigue to drink of the water of a small lake in Lycia, the rustics railed at her and puddled the lake with their hands and feet; for which, at the prayer of the goddess, they were turned into frogs.

ON THE NEW FORCERS OF CONSCIENCE.—"*A Classic Hierarchy*": the Presbyterian system of Church-government, the first step in which is the association of congregations into

Presbyteries or *Classes* (see Memoir, pp. xxi.-xxii.)——*A.S.* was a certain Adam Steuart, a Scotchman, living in London in 1644, where he took a leading part in the controversy against the Independents in pamphlets published with his initials *A.S.*——*Rutherford* was Samuel Rutherford, one of the four Scottish Divines of the Westminster Assembly, and also a leading pamphleteer in favour of strict Presbytery. He became afterwards Professor of Divinity in St. Andrews, where he died in 1661, leaving many works, and a name still remembered with respect and affection.——"*Shallow Edwards*" was the Rev. Thomas Edwards, M.A., an Englishman by birth, then a preacher in London, and one of the most fluent and virulent writers in favour of strict Presbytery, and against Independency, the Sects, and Toleration. His *Gangræna*, published in 1645-6, is an extraordinary collection of personalities and scurrilities about the Sectaries of the time. Milton is attacked in it for his Divorce heresy.——"*Scotch What-d'ye-call*" is, I have no doubt, Robert Baillie, Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow, and afterwards Principal there. He was one of the Scottish Divines in the Westminster Assembly, and a leading man in the controversy against the Sects and Independents. In a large pamphlet, called "A Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time," he had named Milton prominently among the heretics of the day on account of his Treatises on Divorce. He is now best remembered by his "Letters and Journals," a rich, graphic, and, with all their Presbyterian prejudice, most authentic, account of many of the English and Scottish transactions of that time. Any description by Baillie of a scene at which he was himself present is worth any ten descriptions of the same by other people. Altogether the *Scotch What d'ye call* was a very memorable man.——"*Plots and packing worse than those of Trent.*" The meaning is that not even in the Council of Trent itself, which had settled and redefined the creed of the Roman Catholic Church after the Reformation (1545-1563), had there been so much intriguing and sharp practice as there had been in the Westminster Assembly since its first meeting in July 1643. The word *packing* seems to imply a belief that the Assembly had been unfairly constituted from the first, by the exclusion or imperfect representation of elements of opinion unfavourable to Presbyterianism.

——"*Clip your phylacteries, though baulk your ears,*" *i.e.* "punish you by clipping those badges of sanctity which you wear about your heads, like the phylacteries of the Pharisees (Matt. xxiii. 5), though sparing your ears, and so treating you more mercifully than you would treat your so-called 'heretics' if you had the power."——"*New* PRESBYTER *is but old* PRIEST *writ large.*" This aphorism, which was to stand in the Parliamentary "*charge*" or indictment against the Presbyterians, turns on a play of words. The word "*Priest*" being simply a contraction of the Greek word "*Presbyteros,*" "an Elder," Milton's insinuation is that the change from Prelacy, or even from Roman Catholicism, to the new Presbyterianism devised for England, would bé but giving up a slighter for a more extended form of the same article.——Two corrections discernible in the Cambridge MS. of this remarkable "Tailed Sonnet" are worth noting. Instead of "*Shallow Edwards,*" which is the name by which this London fanatic of 1646 will be remembered to the end of time, Milton had first written "*haire-brain'd Edwards,*" which was probably as true. Again, the line "*Clip your phylacteries, though baulk your ears*" had been originally written "*Crop ye as close as marginal P——'s ears,*" the allusion being to the celebrated William Prynne, the Lincoln's Inn lawyer, who had been twice pilloried and had his nose slit and his ears cut off for anti-Prelatic pamphlets, by sentence of the Star-Chamber during Laud's persecuting rule. Since his release from prison, at the opening of the Long Parliament in 1640, Prynne had been a conspicuous Presbyterian, enforcing his views in tract after tract of a dry and learned kind, always with references to his authorities running down the margins of the pages. Prynne's want of ears and the margins of his pamphlets were subjects of popular jest; but Milton had a special grudge against him on account of a reference to himself in one of the "marginal" oddities.

SONNET XIII.—"*not to scan with Midas' ears, committing short and long*": *i.e.* not to mis-match short syllables with long syllables (from the Latin sense of *committere* in such a phrase as *committere pugiles*, to match gladiators in the circus); which was the kind of scanning of which Midas may be supposed to have been guilty when he decided in favour of Pan in the musical contest between that god and

Apollo, and had his faulty ears changed into those of an ass in consequence.——"*send her wing.*" So in the edition of 1673, but *lend* in the Cambridge MS. and in most recent editions.——"*or story.*" This is explained by a marginal note to the Sonnet as it was prefixed to Lawes's *Choice Psalms*, etc., published by Moseley in 1648. "The story of Ariadne set by him to musick," says the note; the words of the said story being by the poet Cartwright.——"*Dante . . . his Casella . . . Purgatory.*" The reference is to the passage in Dante's *Purgatorio*, Cant. II., where he represents himself as meeting, in a crowd of other souls, the musician Casella, who had been his dear friend in life, and asking him to sing, even there, if it were permissible, one of those love-songs in which he excelled on earth. Casella complies, and sings a song of Dante's own. The shades of Purgatory are called "*milder*," in comparison with those of the *Inferno*, from which the poet had just emerged when he met Casella.

SONNET XIV.—Scripture texts in Milton's mind in the Sonnet are Rom. vii. 24; Rev. xiv. 13; Acts x. 4; Ps. xxxvi. 8, 9.

SONNET XV.—"*though new rebellions raise their Hydra heads.*" These are the English Royalist risings for the Second Civil War.——"*and the false North displays her broken league,*" *i.e.* "though Scotland exhibits on her banner that *Solemn League and Covenant* which she says we have broken, while there may be a question whether she has not broken it herself" (see Memoir, p. xxxi).——"*to imp their serpent wings,*" *i.e.* to add strength to the said English Royalist risings, as a hawk's wing may be *imped* or mended by the insertion of new feathers for spoiled ones.

SONNET XVI.—"*Darwen stream,*" *i.e.* the Darwen in Lancashire, which falls into the Ribble near Preston, the scene of Cromwell's great three days' battle, in which he routed the invading Scots under the Duke of Hamilton (Aug. 17-19, 1648).——For "*Dunbar Field*" and "*Worcester's laureate-wreath*" (the last called Cromwell's "crowning mercy"), see Memoir, p. xxxvii. and Introd. to the Sonnet.

SONNET XVII.—"*when gowns, not arms, repelled,*" *i.e.* in that period of Roman History when it was on statesmen rather than on warriors that the defence of the Commonwealth rested. "*The fierce Epirot*" is Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, a formidable enemy of the Romans from B.C. 280 to

B.C. 272; "*the African bold*" is Hannibal, their enemy from B.C. 220 to B.C. 182.——"*The drift of hollow States,*" etc. An allusion to the dubious conduct of foreign powers, and especially the Dutch Republic, towards the English Commonwealth. Vane had much to do with the management of those foreign relations.

SONNET XVIII.—"*The triple Tyrant,*" *i.e.* the Pope, with his three-tiared crown. Compare *In Quintum Nov.* 55.——"*the Babylonian woe.*" See Rev. xvii. and xviii. The Puritans identified the Papacy with the mystical Babylon of the Apocalypse. See *In Quintum Nov.* 156.

SONNET XIX.—"*Ere half my days.*" For the date of Milton's blindness see Memoir, p. xxxviii. and Introd. to this Sonnet.——"*that one talent,*" etc.: Matt. xxv. 14-30. Milton speaks of his eyesight as the "one talent" *he* had received.——"*thousands,*" viz. of Angelic beings.

SONNET XX. — "*Favonius*": a poetical synonym for Zephyr, the West-wind.——"*that neither sowed nor spun,*" Matt. vi. 26-29.——"*spare to interpose them oft*": interpreted by Mr. Keightley to mean "spare time to interpose them oft"; but surely rather the opposite—"refrain from interposing them oft." *Parcere* in Latin with a verb following had this sense of "refraining from," and "spare" in English was used in the same way.

SONNET XXI.—"*Let Euclid rest, and Archimedes pause,*" *i.e.* lay aside your mathematical and physical studies (see Introd.)

SONNET XXII.—"*this three years' day.*" See Introd., II. 308. "This day three years" is the prosaic form, and some have unwarrantably proposed that reading here.——"*though clear to outward view,*" etc. Milton is equally explicit on this point in a passage in his *Def. Sec.*, where he discusses his blindness.——"*Or sun or moon, or star,*" etc. Compare *Par. Lost*, III. 40 *et seq.*, and *Sams. Ag.* 80 *et seq.*——"*conscience,*" *i.e.* "consciousness."——"*to have lost them overplied in Liberty's defence,*" *i.e.* in writing his great pamphlet *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano*, published in 1651 in reply to Salmasius, whose *Defensio Regia pro Carolo I.* had appeared in 1649. In that pamphlet itself Milton had said that, being in ill-health while he wrote it, he had been "forced to write by piecemeal, and break off almost every hour"; and in its sequel, the *Defensio*

Secunda, published in 1654, or perhaps a year before the present Sonnet was written, he had inserted a more express passage, to the effect that when he had undertaken the reply to Salmasius the sight of one eye was already nearly gone, and he had persevered in his task, from a sense of paramount duty, against the positive warnings of physicians that it would accelerate total blindness.——"*my noble task, of which all Europe rings.*" Only in this case have I adopted a reading from Phillips's printed copy of 1694. In the Cambridge draft of the Sonnet, as dictated by Milton, the word is "*talks*" and not "*rings*," and I have no doubt "*talks*" is what Milton himself would have printed. But the word "*rings*," substituted by Phillips, probably because the first line of the Sonnet to Fairfax was still echoing in his ear, has so recommended itself by its energy, and has become so identified with the passage by frequent quotation, that no editor has had the heart to return to "*talks.*"

SONNET XXIII.:—"*like Alcestis,*" etc. The reference is to the beautiful drama of *Alkestis* by Euripides, where it is told how the brave god Herakles, Jove's great son, brought back the dead Queen Alkestis from her tomb and restored her to her husband Admetus. The story is now best accessible to English readers in Mr. Browning's fine transcript of it in his *Balaustion.*——"*Purification in the Old Law.*" See Levit. xii.

TRANSLATIONS.

THE FIFTH ODE OF HORACE, LIB. I.—"*Plain in thy neatness?*" Warton objected to this translation, on the ground that Horace's words "*simplex munditiis*" mean "plain in her dress." But Milton, in the Latin copy of Horace's ode printed parallel with his translation in the edition of 1673, adopts the reading "*simplex munditie.*"

PSALMS LXXX. — LXXXVIII. — See Introduction. Landor's remark on these translations was that "Milton was never so much a regicide as when he lifted up his hand and smote King David."—Ps. LXXX. 35, *haut*, for *haughty*, an old form, found in Spenser and Shakespeare, but nowhere else in Milton's poetry—*Ibid.* lines 14, 30, 78, the identical rhyme of *vouchsafe* and *safe;* and in line 60 *vine* rhyming

with *divine*. In the edition of 1673 *vouchsafe* is so spelt in lines 14 and 30, but *voutsafe* in line 78, as generally in *Par. Lost*.—In Ps. LXXXVI., lines 26-28, the word "*works*" rhymes to itself.

PSALMS I.—VIII.—As has been pointed out in the Introduction, the peculiarity in this version of the first Eight Psalms is that in each psalm there is an experiment of a special metre. Psalm I. is in heroic couplets; Psalm II. in Italian tercets, or rhymes interlinked in threes, as in Dante's *Divina Commedia;* Psalm III. in a peculiar six-lined stanza; Psalm IV. in a different six-lined stanza; Psalm V. in a peculiar four-lined stanza; Psalm VI. in another kind of four-lined stanza; Psalm VII. in a six-lined stanza different from either of the previous six-lined stanzas; and Psalm VIII. in an eight-lined stanza. But in each metre there are irregularities and laxities. Observe the double rhymes "*nations*" "*congregations*" in Ps. II. 1-3; "*glory*" "*story*," and "*millions*" "*pavilions*" in Ps. III. 7, 8, and 15-18; "*unstable*" "*miserable*" in Ps. V. 25-27; "*reprehend me*" "*amend me*," and "*weeping*" "*keeping*" in Ps. VI. 1-4 and 17-20; "*under*," "*wonder*," "*asunder*," "*nation*," "*habitation*," "*foundation*," and "*offended*," "*bended*," "*intended*," in Ps. VII. 2-5, 25-30, and 44-47.—Note also, as peculiar verbal forms, "*sustain*" used substantively in Ps. III. 12, "*deject*" used adjectively Ps. VI. 3, and "*bearth*" for "birth" or "production" in Ps. VII. 4 (compare *Par. Lost*, IX. 624, and note there).

SCRAPS FROM THE PROSE WRITINGS.— See Introd.

NOTES TO THE LATIN POEMS.

"De Auctore Testimonia."—About the Neapolitan Manso, the writer of the first of the five testimonies, sufficient information has been given in the Introduction to the Latin Poem "*Mansus.*" About the Roman Salsilli, the writer of the second, there is similar information in the Introduction to the Latin Verses addressed to him. Of Selvaggi, the writer of the third, nothing is known, save that he was probably a Roman. Antonio Francini and Carlo Dati, the writers of the fourth and fifth, were Florentines, and leading spirits in the Literary Academies of Florence at the time of Milton's visit. There is special mention of both by name in his *Epitaphium Damonis*, written immediately after his return to England (lines 136-138); and Dati, who was a very young man when Milton first saw him in Florence, was one of his correspondents afterwards.

ELEGIARUM LIBER.

Elegia Prima.

3. "*occiduâ Devæ Cestrensis ab orâ.*" Compare *Lycidas*, 55, and note there.

4. "*Vergivium . . . salum*": the Irish sea.

11—20. "*Jam nec arundiferum,*" etc. These ten lines are supposed to convey the story of Milton's temporary rustication from Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1626 (see Introd). The phrases most significant are "*nec dudum vetiti laris,*" "*duri minas Magistri,*" "*Cætera ingenio non subeunda meo,*" "*exilium,*" "*profugi nomen,*" and "*exilii*

conditione." The first of these phrases may be construed in a way different from that which has been usual with those who have read it with the story of the rustication in their minds. They have taken "*lar*" to mean "college-chamber," and so have read the whole line thus: "Nor does any love of [longing for] my lately forbidden college-room vex me." But why not take "*lar*" in its more direct sense of "home," "fireside," and so read the line thus: "Nor does longing for my lately forbidden home in London now vex me, as it used to do at Cambridge"?

21—24. "*O utinam vates . . . ille,*" etc. Milton's fondness for Ovid finds here exaggerated expression.

29—36. "*Seu catus,*" etc. Warton remarks that the comedies hinted at are rather the Terentian than those of the contemporary English stage.

41, 42. "*Seu puer infelix,*" etc. Shakespeare's *Romeo?*

43, 44. "*Seu ferus e tenebris,*" etc. In Shakespeare's *Hamlet* or his *Richard III.*?

45, 46. "*Seu mæret Pelopeia,*" etc. He reverts now to Greek tragedy.

49, 50. "*Nos quoque lucus habet,*" etc. Some suburban place of public resort, such as Gray's Inn Garden or one of the Parks, seems to be intended.

69, 70. "*Nec Pompeianas Tarpëia Musa,*" etc. The "Tarpëia Musa" is here used for the Roman poets generally, or more expressly for Ovid, whose house was near the Tarpeian Rock.

73. "*Tuque urbs Dardaniis, Londinum,*" etc. London, in the British legends, was founded by the Trojan settlers who came in with Brutus.

77—80. "*Non tibi tot cælo,*" etc. An expansion of Ovid's, *Art Amat.*, I. 59.

ELEGIA SECUNDA.

5, 6. "*plumis sub quibus accipimus delituisse Jovem.*" Warton quotes Ovid's line (*Heroides*, VIII. 68):—"Nec querar in plumis delituisse Jovem."

9, 10. "*Dignus quem . . . Coronides.*" Æsculapius, the god of medicine, son of Apollo, but, here, after Ovid, called Coronides because his mother was Coronis, restored

to life Hippolytus, the son of Theseus, whose death had greatly vexed Diana.

21. "*Academia.*" Here, as well as in the only other instance of the use of the word in Milton's Latin poems (Epilogue to *Eleg.* VII.), the penult is made short.

ELEGIA TERTIA.

3—8. "*Protinus en subiit,*" etc. The reference is to the ravages of the Plague in England in 1625 and 1626.

9—12. "*Tunc memini,*" etc. The other recent calamities were the deaths of some of the conspicuous champions of Protestantism on the Continent in that early stage of the great Thirty Years' War the object of which was the recovery of the Palatinate for its hereditary Prince-Elector, nominally "King of Bohemia," husband of the English Elizabeth, daughter of James I.

49, 50. "*Talis in extremis terræ Gangetidis oris Luciferi regis,*" etc. "*Lucifer rex,*" as Steevens pointed out, is here not a name for Satan, as Warton imagined, but simply for the Sun or Light-bringer, whose home is placed by all poets in the far East.

63, 64. "*Nate, veni,*" etc. Rev. xiv 13.

ELEGIA QUARTA.

3. "*Segnes rumpe moras.*" Quoted *verbatim*, as Mr. Keightley notes, from Virgil, *Georg.* III. 42, 43.

5, 6. "*Sicanio frænantem carcere ventos Æolon.*" Copied, as Warton noted, from Ovid, *Met.* XIV. 224.

15, 16. "*ab Hamâ,*" etc. According to Warton, "Krantzius, a Gothic geographer, says that the city of Hamburg in Saxony took its name from Hama, a puissant Saxon champion, who was killed on the spot where that city stands by Starchater, a Danish giant." Hence the *Cimbrica clava* of line 16.

23—28. "*Charior ille mihi quàm,*" etc. Here Milton helped himself, as Warton noted, with recollections from Ovid —*Art. Amat.* I., 11 and 337, *Met.* II. 676 (where Cheiron is expressly called "*Philyreius heros*"), and *Fasti*, V. 379 *et seq.* (where "*Philyreius heros*" occurs again).

33—38. "*Flammeus at signum ter,*" etc. Thrice had the

flaming Æthon (one of the four heroes of the Sun, according to the enumeration in Ovid's *Met.* II. 153, 154) seen the sign of the Ram, and clothed its woolly back with new gold; and twice had Chloris or Flora overspread the old earth with new herbage; and twice had Auster, the South-wind, removed Flora's wealth; nor yet in this interval had it been permitted him to see Young's face, or hear him speak. Literally translated, this means that three vernal equinoxes, or 21sts of March, two summers, and two falls of the year, had passed since Milton and Young last met.

80. "*ærisonam Diva perosa tubam*": the goddess Eirene, or Peace.

97—100. "*vates terræ Thesbitidis*," etc., *i.e.* Elijah the Tishbite. See 1 Kings xix. "*Sidoni dira*" (voc.) is Jezebel, daughter of Ethbaal, King of Sidon (1 Kings xvi. 31).

101, 102. "*Talis et . . . Paulus*," etc. Acts xvi. 9-40.

103, 104. "*Piscosæque . . . Gergessæ*," etc. See Matt. viii. 28-34.

113, 114. "*Ille Sionææ*," etc. 2 Kings xix. 35, 36.

115—132. "*Inque fugam vertit quos in Samaritidas oras*," etc. A poetic rendering, in brief, of 2 Kings vii. 3-10.

125, 126. "*Nec dubites*," etc. The prophecy in these concluding lines was very soon fulfilled. See sketch of Young's subsequent life, Introd.

ELEGIA QUINTA.

1. "*In se perpetuo Tempus revolubile gyro*": possibly a recollection of a line in Buchanan's "*Maiæ Calendæ*"; which is, in fact, just such a poem on the Approach of Spring as this by Milton.

6—8. "*Ingeniumque mihi munere veris adest*," etc. Milton's own information, in his later years, to his nephew Phillips, was the very reverse of this. It was "that his vein never happily flowed but from the autumnal equinox to the vernal," *i.e.* from Sept. 21st to March 21st (Phillips's Memoir in 1694). If this is true, the approach of Spring actually checked Milton's *ingenium*. But that refers to about 1663, when Milton was between fifty and sixty years of age; and we are now at 1629, when he was but twenty.

30. "*perennis*." So in the edition of 1673. In that of

1645 the word was "*quotannis*"; which was a blunder of quantity, the last syllable being long. The blunder had not escaped Salmasius; and it was pointed out in his posthumous *Responsio* to Milton, published in 1660.

35. "*Lycaonius . . . Bootes.*" Mr. Keightley remarks, "This is not a proper expression for Bòötes, which had nothing to do with Lycaon, whose daughter was turned into the *plaustrum cæleste.*" But Milton had strict mythological authority. Although the northern constellation Bòötes was represented by some as the stellified Icarus, by others he was represented as the stellified Arcas, the eponymic hero of the Arcadians; and this Arcas, in some mythologies, was that very son of Lycaon whose flesh was served up by his father before Zeus, and whom the disgusted God restored to life, while he destroyed the rest of the house of Lycaon. In that case, he was a brother of Callisto *alias* Helice, daughter of Lycaon, who was stellified as the Greater Bear, or northern wain, or Arctos. Even if Arcas is not taken as the son of Lycaon, but as the son of Callisto or Helice by Zeus (which is one form of the myth), he was still *Lycaonian*, as being the grandson of Lycaon; and so anyway Milton hits right in the jumble. Both Bòötes (Arcas, son or grandson of Lycaon) and Arctos, the *plaustrum cæleste* or Northern Wain (Callisto or Helice, daughter of Lycaon and sister or mother of Arcas), were Lycaonian offshoots up in heaven; and the only question, in this passage, is whether Bòötes regarded the "plaustrum cæleste" which he was following as his sister or as his mother.

61, 62. "*Ecce coronatur . . . Idæam pinea turris Opim,*" *i.e.* the lofty forehead of the Earth is crowned with wood, as that of Ops, or Cybele, the goddess of fertility, the great all-bearing mother, is crowned with a tower of pines.

74. "*hinc titulos adjuvat ipsa tuos*": because Phœbus was also the God of Medicine.

125. "*Mænalius Pan.*" Mænalus was a mountain in Arcadia, the principal country of Pan; and hence he is called "Mænalius Deus" (Ovid, *Fast.*, IV. 650).

129. "*cupit malè tecta videri*": from Virgil, *Ecl.* III. 66:—"Et fugit ad salices, et se cupit ante videri."

Elegia Sexta.

10. "*Festaque cælifugam quæ coluere Deum.*" Milton means simply "these December festivities of yours"; but he recollects that the Roman Saturnalia, or festivities in honour of Saturn, and of the golden days of primitive equality when this god resided on earth, were held in the middle of December.

19, 20. "*Naso Corallæis,*" etc.: *i.e.* "The poet Ovid (*P. Ovidius Naso*) sent bad verses from the scene of his banishment, the country of the savage *Coralli;* and the reason was that there was no feasting there, and no vines planted." The poems written by Ovid during his exile at Tomi on the Euxine sea (A.D. 8-18) were his *Tristia*, his *Epistolæ ex Ponto*, and his *Ibis*, besides parts of his *Fasti;* and these, in the judgment of critics, were not so good, or at least not so graceful, as his previous poems, all written in Rome, or elsewhere in Italy, amid the luxuries of civilized society.

21, 22. "*Quid nisi vina . . . cantavit Tĕia Musa,*" etc. From Ovid he passes to Anacreon, a native of the Greek city of Teos or Teios on the Ægean coast of Asia Minor, and hence called by Ovid "*Tĕia Musa.*" By "*brevibus modis*" the short structure of the so-called Anacreontics is designated.

23—26. "*Pindaricosque inflat numeros,*" etc. *Teumesius Euan* is the Bœotian Bacchus, called *Euan*, from the cry to him by his priestesses in their revels, and *Teumesius*, from Teumesus, a mountain in Bœotia; and the connexion of the passage is "Pindar's lyrics also, the Theban Pindar's, are inspired by the Bacchus of his native Bœotia."

27, 28. "*Quadrimoque madens Lyricen Romanus,*" etc. Next in the list comes Horace, referred to by his Odes to Glycera and Chloe (I. 19 and 23).

37. "*Thressa . . . barbitos.*" Thracian, because Orpheus was Thracian.

39—48. "*Auditurque chelys suspensa tapetia circum,*" etc. In the whole of this passage we have a charming picture of a room, as it might be on a winter-evening, in some English country mansion in Milton's time, well-lit,

elegantly furnished, and full of young people gracefully enjoying themselves.

55—66. "*At qui bella refert, . . . augur iture Deos.*" I have already called attention (Introd. p. 93) to the peculiarly Miltonic significance of this passage, coming so powerfully after the quiet grace of the preceding context.

71. "*Sic dapis exiguus, sic rivi potor Homerus.*" Here Milton flatly contradicts Horace, who insists on it as an axiom that no good poet was ever a water-drinker, and argues, on internal evidence, that Homer cannot have been such (*Epist.* I. xix. 1-6).

79—90. "*At tu si quid agam scitabere,*" etc. See Introd., and Introd. to *Hymn on the Nativity.*

ELEGIA SEPTIMA.

21. "*Talis in æterno juvenis Sigeius Olympo.*" The line, as Warton noted, is adapted from Tibullus, IV. ii. 13.—The "*juvenis Sigeius*" is Ganymede, son of Tros.

37, 38. "*Cydoniusque . . . venator, et ille,*" etc. The name "*Cydonius venator*" (from *Cydonia*, a city in Crete, famous for its arrows) seems to be here indefinite, like the "*Parthus eques*" of the preceding line, and not to designate any particular person.—The other person, "*ille,*" is Cephalus, one of the legends about whom is that he shot his own wife Procris accidentally with an unerring arrow, the gift of Artemis.

46. "*Nec tibi Phœbæus porriget anguis opem.*" Æsculapius, the God of Medicine, son of Phœbus, came to Rome in the form of a snake, to stay a pestilence.

51, 52. "*Et modò quà nostri spatiantur in urbe Quirites, et modò,*" etc. : *i.e.* now the favourite walks of the citizens within London itself (Charter House Garden, the Temple Gardens, Lincoln's Inn Fields, Gray's Inn Gardens, etc.), now the more suburban places of resort (Hyde Park, Hampstead, etc.)

83, 84. "*Talis et obreptum solem respexit . . . Amphiaraus.*" The story of the hero Amphiaraus, who went unwillingly to the war against Thebes, fought bravely in it, but was at last swallowed up in a chasm of the earth as he was careering in his chariot from the pursuing enemy, is

hinted at by Ovid in a line the last half of which Milton has adapted (*Epist., ex Pont.* III. i. 51, 52):—

> "Notior est factus Capaneus a fulminis ictu;
> Notus humo mersis Amphiaraus equis."

POSTSCRIPT TO ELEGIA SEPTIMA.—The more the general tenor of the Postscript is considered in connexion with the circumstances of Milton's life, the more it will appear that by *Academia* in line 5 he does not mean the University of Cambridge, as all the commentators have supposed, but the Platonic Philosophy. Still, if there is any doubt, Cambridge ought to have the benefit. At all events, he has made the penult of *Academia* short here, just as he did when he used the word indubitably for Cambridge University (see *Eleg.* II. 21).

[EPIGRAMMATA.]

IN PRODITIONEM BOMBARDICAM.—"*Qualiter ille . . . liquit Iordanios . . . agros.*" The prophet Elijah, 2 Kings ii. 11.

IN EANDEM.—"*Quæ septemgemino Bellua monte lates?*": the Papacy, resting on the seven hills of Rome, and regarded by zealous Protestants as the Beast of the Apocalypse (Rev. xiii.)——"*Ille quidem sine te consortia serus adivit astra.*" King James was dead several years before this Epigram was written. Would Milton in later manhood have made the same *post-mortem* disposition of this king?

IN EANDEM.—"*Purgatorem animæ derisit Iācobus ignem*": *i.e.* King James, as a good Protestant, derided the doctrine of Purgatory. Note the unusual *Iācŏbus*, instead of *Iăcōbus*, as in the preceding Epigram.——"*Nec inultus,*" etc. Compare *In Quintum Novembris*, 44.

IN EANDEM.—The jest is "How absurd that Rome, which had excommunicated James, and doomed him to Styx and the world below, should have changed her mind, and tried to hoist him by gunpowder the other way!"

IN INVENTOREM BOMBARDÆ.—"*Iapetionidem*": Prometheus.

AD LEONORAM ROMÆ CANENTEM.—"*Angelus unicuique*

suus," etc. A fancy in which I discern something characteristic of Milton.——"*mens tertia*," some third mind, intermediate between God and Angel.——"*assuescere*." Mr. Keightley notes the faulty structure of this line, the cæsura falling on the first syllable of a word.

AD EANDEM.—"*Altera . . . Leonora*": the Princess Leonora of Este, sister of the Duke of Ferrara, Tasso's love for whom, dating from 1566, makes so much romance in biographies of the poet.——"*Dircæo Pentheo*." Pentheus, King of Thebes (hence called "Dircæan Pentheus," because *Dirce* was also one of the celebrities of the Bœotian legends), was furiously opposed to the worship of Bacchus in his dominions, till the god, to punish him, inspired him with a desire to behold the Bacchic orgies himself, when he was torn to pieces.

AD EANDEM.—"*Sirena . . . claraque Parthenopes fana Achelöiados, Chalcidico . . . rogo?*" etc. Naples, primitively called *Parthenope*, and poetically *urbs Parthenopæia*, derived that distinction from the legend that the body of Parthenope, one of the Sirens, was found and sacredly entombed on the sea-shore at that point of the Italian coast. The Sirens were *Acheloiads*, as being daughters of the river-god Achelöus. *Chalcidicus* was another word for "Neapolitan," inasmuch as Naples had been enlarged and re-edified by a colony from the island of Eubœa, the chief town of which was *Chalcis*.——"*Illa quidem vivit*," etc., *i.e.* The true Siren is Leonora; for she is of Neapolitan birth, though now residing in Rome.

APOLOGUS DE RUSTICO ET HERO.—See Introduction.

DE MORO.—See Introduction.

AD CHRISTINAM, SUECORUM REGINAM, NOMINE CROMWELLI.—See Introduction.

SYLVARUM LIBER.

IN OBITUM PROCANCELLARII MEDICI.

4. "*Iäpeti . . . nepotes*": Iapetus, son of Heaven and Earth, the father of Prometheus, etc., was regarded by the Greeks as the general ancestor of mankind.

13, 14. "*fraude turpi Palladis . . . occisum . . . Hectora.*" In the *Iliad* (XXII.) the encounter of Hector with Achilles is brought about by a deception of Pallas.

15, 16. "*Quem larva Pelidis peremit ense Locro, Jove lacrymante,*" *i.e.* Sarpedon, a son of Jupiter, fighting on the Trojan side, and killed by Patroclus, who wore the armour of Achilles (*Iliad*, XVI.). For the *ense Locro* Mr. Keightley accounts thus: "Because Menœtius, the father of Patroclus, was a Locrian."—"*Jove lacrymante*" is an allusion to the bloody drops which Jupiter, in the *Iliad*, shed on the earth when he consented that Sarpedon should die.

17. "*verba Hecatëia*": words of witchcraft, from *Hecate.*

18. "*Telegoni parens*": Circe, mother of Telegon by Ulysses.

20. "*Ægiali soror*": Medea, whose brother was Absyrtus, called also Ægialeus.

21. "*Numenque trinum*": the three Fates.

23, 24. "*Machaon,*" etc. Machaon, son of the god Æsculapius, was physician or surgeon-in-chief to the Greeks in the Trojan war, and was killed by Eurypylus.

25, 26. "*Philyreie,*" etc. Cheiron, the wise centaur and physician, son of Saturn and Philyra, and tutor of Achilles, Æsculapius, and so many other heroes. See *Eleg.* IV. 23-28, and note there. He died from an accidental wound from one of the poisoned arrows of Hercules.

28. "*Cæse puer genetricis alvo*": Æsculapius, the God of Medicine himself, son of Apollo and Coronis, and brought into the world in this fashion when his mother was destroyed. He was killed at last by Jove's lightning, because Pluto complained that he had saved the lives of so many.

29. "*Tuque, O alumno major Apolline.*" Warton was sure that "*Apolline*" is a misprint for "*Apollinis*"; but, having made the change, and so translated the passage "And thou, O greater than the pupil of Apollo," he was uncertain who this "pupil of Apollo" might be. But why not retain "*Apolline*" and translate "*alumno,*" not "pupil," but "tutor" or "foster-father"? The meaning would then be "And thou (Gostlyn), greater in medicine than thy master Apollo."

In Quintum Novembris.

1. "*Jam pius extremâ veniens Iäcobus ab arcto.*" James came from Scotland in 1603, and the Gunpowder Plot attempt was on the 5th of November 1605.

2, 3. "*Teucrigenas populos . . . regna Albionum.*" In the old British legends, as afterwards compiled by Milton in his *History of Britain*, the Britons are Troy-sprung or *Teucrigenæ* (from Teucer, ancestor of the Trojans), inasmuch as the true founder of the British realm was Brutus with his Trojan colony, B.C. 1150; but before that time the island had been called *Albion*, and its inhabitants *Albiones*, from a giant Albion, son of Neptune, who ruled it for a while about B.C. 2220.

23. "*Summanus*": an old and rather rare name for Pluto, a contraction of "*Summus manium*," Chief of the Dead. Ovid has the name, *Fast.* VI. 731.

27—30. "*Neptunia proles . . . qui*," etc. This is the giant Albion (see note, 2, 3). He had ruled our island forty-four years and given it his name, Milton tells us in his summary of the legends (*Hist. of Britain*), "till at length, passing over into Gaul, in aid of his brother Lestrygon, against whom Hercules was hasting out of Spain into Italy, he was there slain in fight." Hercules is called *Amphitryonides*, after his putative father Amphitryon, his real father being Jupiter.

31—33. "*At simul hanc, opibusque et festâ pace beatam*," etc. Here, as Warton noted, Milton recollects Ovid, *Met.* II. 790-796.

49—53. "*A parte sinistrâ nimbifer Apenninus*," etc.: *i.e.* Satan, after crossing the Alps, and entering Italy, makes direct for Rome by a route which keeps the Apennines on his left hand as he flies and Tuscany in the main on his right. He has a pleasure in looking at Tuscany, as the old Etruria, so famous for its magic and superstitions.

54—63. "*lucem, cum circumgreditur totam Tricoronifer urbem*," etc. With malicious ingenuity Milton makes Satan arrive in Rome, on his diabolical errand, on the eve of St. Peter's Day (to be exact, let us say June 28, 1605), when the Pope went in procession through the city.

64—67. "*Qualiter exululat Bromius, Bromiique*," etc.

Not even will Milton's love of music let him praise the thunders of singing with which he fancies the vaults and dome of St. Peter's resounding on that Eve. They were like the howling of Bacchus (here called by his surname of *Bromius*, "the Roaring") and of the crew of Bacchus, singing their orgies on the Echionian mountain, Aracynthus, while the neighbouring river Asopus trembles at the din, and the farther-off Mount Cithæron answers with his rocky echoes. *Echionian* is properly "Theban," and both Asopus and Cithæron were in Bœotia, near Thebes; but Aracynthus, called also Actæus, was in Acarnania, more than a hundred miles west from Thebes.

71—73. "*Captum oculis Typhlonta*," etc. The horses of Night are familiar creatures in classic poetry: and Spenser has them, *F. Q.*, I. v. It was a daring beauty in Milton to be the first (as he is believed to be) who gave these horses names. Each name is from the Greek, and is etymologically significant, as if he had called the horses *Blinding*, *Blackhaired*, *Silence of Hell*, and *Shuddering*.

74. "*regum domitor*": the Pope, with the polite title of "*Phlegetontius hæres*" also fitted to him.

75, 76. "*Ingreditur thalamos* (*neque enim*," etc.) This insinuation is conventional, as against Popes in general, and is not to be regarded as directed against the particular Pope who reigned in June 1605, viz. Paul V.

80—85. "*Assumptis micuerunt tempora canis*," etc. The special equipment in the garb of a Franciscan friar is, as Warton pointed out, from two passages in Buchanan's Satire on the Franciscan body.

86—89. "*Talis . . . Franciscus eremo.*" Warton thinks that here Milton means St. Francis d'Assisi, the founder of the Franciscan order (1182-1226), but has, by mistake, attributed to that Saint incidents which properly belong to the life of St. Francis Xavier, the Jesuit Missionary (1506-1552).

102, 103. "*disjectam . . . classem*," etc. The shattered Spanish Armada of 1588.

104, 105. "*Sanctorumque cruci tot corpora fixa probrosæ,*
Thermodoontēā nuper regnante puellā."

These are the Roman Catholics put to death in England during the reign of Elizabeth, here called "*Thermodoontea puella*," or "Amazonian girl," from Thermodon, a river

falling into the Euxine Sea in the country of the legendary Amazons.

120. "*nitrati pulveris.*" The accepted Latin phrase for gunpowder was "*pulvis nitratus*" or "*pulvis nitrosus.*"

126. "*vel Gallus atrox, vel sævus Iberus.*" The French King in 1605 was Henry IV., the hero of Navarre; the Spanish King was Philip III. Milton thinks of the two peoples and their religion, and not of the particular sovereigns.

127. "*Sæcula . . . Mariana*": the times of "the Bloody Mary."

139—154. "*Est locus,*" etc. This Latin poem, juvenile production though it is, contains extremely fine poetical passages; and the present, describing the Cave of Murder and Treason, is one of them.

143. "*præruptaque.*" So in Second edition. In the First the word was "*semifractaque*"; which gave a false quantity, the first syllable of *semi* being long.

155. "*pugiles Romæ*": "champions of Rome," in the sense of hired bravoes or ruffians.

165. "*paruere gemelli.*" The *gemelli* are Murder and Treason. The first syllable of *paruere* being long, Milton, as Warton observed, either committed a false quantity here, or is to be absolved on the ground that he meant the *u* to pass as *v*, and the whole word to be a trisyllable.

170—193. "*Esse ferunt spatium,*" etc. In this imagination of the House or Tower of Fame, the young poet dares to come after Ovid's similar description (*Met.* XII. 39-63) and Chaucer's much more elaborate one (*House of Fame*: beginning of Book III.) He helps himself to touches from both, and uses also Virgil's description of Fame herself (*Æn.*, IV. 173-188); yet he produces an Abode of Rumour quite his own, and suitable for his purpose.

171. "*Mareotidas undas*": distinctly so in both Milton's editions; but certainly, as Mr. Keightley observes, either a mistake or a misprint for *Mæotidas*. For Milton cannot have meant Lake *Mareotis*, which is in Egypt, but the great Lake *Mæotis*, now "the sea of Azof," north of the Black Sea.

178—180. "*Qualiter instrepitant . . . agmina muscarum,*" etc. The original of this image, in its exact form, as Warton noted, is in the *Iliad*, II. 469 *et seq.*, and XVI. 641; but Chaucer has a modification of it in his *House of*

Fame, describing the coming in of the petitioners to the Goddess.

182—188. "*Auribus innumeris cinctum caput* . . . *nec tot, Aristoride,* . . . *volvebas lumina.*" Aristorides is Argus, the hundred-eyed guardian of the cow Io, or Isis; his father was Aristor. Compare Virgil's Fame as above (181-183), and Chaucer in his *House of Fame*.

IN OBITUM PRÆSULIS ELIENSIS.

4—6. "*Quem nuper effudi,*" etc. A reference to his *Elegia Tertia*.

7—10. "*Cum centilinguis Fama* . . . *spargit,*" etc. This is as if Milton had still in his ear lines 211, 212 of the preceding poem, *In Quint. Nov.* Possibly he did not write the present piece till he had finished that, though Bishop Felton had died Oct. 5.

10. "*Neptuno satos.*" See *In Quint. Nov.*, 26, 27, and note there; also *Comus*, 18-29.

13, 14. "*insulâ quæ nomen Anguillæ tenet,*" *i.e.* the Isle of Ely, so called from its abundance of eels (*anguillæ* Lat. for "eels").

18, 19. "*Nec vota Naso in Ibida concepit* . . . *diriora.*" The *Ibis* of Ovid, one of the poems which he wrote in his exile, is a furious invective, in 646 lines of elegiac verse, against an unknown enemy.

20—22. "*Graiusque vates,*" etc. The early Greek poet Archilochus (about B.C. 680), famous for the severity of his satires, and of whom the story is that, when Lycambes, who had promised him his daughter Neobule in marriage, broke his word and gave her to another, he took revenge in a poem of such tremendous scurrility that the whole family hanged themselves.

25, 26. "*Audîsse tales videor* . . . *sonos,*" etc. As appears from the sequel, it is the voice of the dead Bishop that the poet hears.

49, 50. "*Vates ut olim* . . . *senex,*" etc., *i.e.* Elijah. See 2 Kings ii. 11.

51—64. "*Non me Boötis,*" etc. Milton is not singular in this somewhat quaint enumeration of the constellations

and luminaries through or past which the soul of the dead mounted on its flight to the Heaven where it was to abide. Perhaps, as he had been reading Chaucer's *House of Fame* for the purposes of his *In Quint. Novembris* (see note to that poem, lines 170-193), he may have had in his mind Chaucer's description there (Book II.) of his flight with the eagle, through the elements and constellations, and past the galaxy itself, on their way to Fame's House.

56, 57. "*deam . . . triformem*," *i.e.* the Moon. See *Par. Lost*, III. 730.

57, 58. "*suos . . . dracones*." See *Pens.* 59, 60, and note.

NATURAM NON PATI SENIUM.

3. "*Œdipodioniam . . . noctem*": such night as Œdipus moved in after he was blind.

31, 32. "*Ceraunia*." The name "Ceraunian Mountains" was applied to a part of the great Caucasian range between the Euxine and the Caspian, and also to a lofty mountain-chain in Epirus. The latter "Ceraunians" are meant here, as being near Thessaly, which was the theatre of the war between the Gods and the Titans.

33, 34. "*At Pater Omnipotens . . . consuluit rerum summæ*." Compare *Par. Lost*, VI. 671-673, "*The Almighty Father . . . consulting on the sum of things*."

37, 38. "*Mundi rota prima . . . ambitos . . . cælos*." The "*rota prima*" is the *Primum Mobile* of the Ptolemaic system; the "*ambiti cæli*," or "enclosed heavens," are the nine inner spheres.

39—65. "*Tardior haud solito Saturnus, et*," etc. Observe how, throughout this whole passage, Milton's imagination is regulated by the Ptolemaic system of Astronomy then prevalent. The thesis of the entire poem is "*Naturam non pati senium*," "That there is no decay in Nature." By "Nature" is meant the entire Cosmos or Physical Universe; and the poet verifies his thesis by actually glancing at the successive portions of this "sum of things." He begins, as we have seen in last note, with the *Primum Mobile*, or that outermost shell which bounds the Universe in from Chaos or Nothingness; and he maintains that that outermost shell

is still wheeling in its vast diurnal revolution as soundly as ever. And now, in the present passage, he proceeds to say that not only is that outermost shell still safe, but also each of the successive parts of its enclosed heavens, inwards to the very Earth at the core of all. He keeps to the Ptolemaic or Alphonsine order in his enumeration, only skipping a sphere or two for brevity. All the planetary spheres having been reported on inwards from Saturn's to the Moon's, one arrives (51) at the aërial region of the so-called Elements, within the Moon's sphere and more immediately surrounding the Earth. Observe how, even in the mention of the Earth, the fancy still moves centrewards, or from the surface (61—63) to the interior (63—65). Since the Ptolemaic theory was abandoned, there has been no such easy or convenient way of taking an inventory of "the sum of things."

65—69. "*Sic denique in ævum*," etc. While denying the doctrine of slow and progressive decay in Nature, the debater accepts the Scriptural prophecy of the ultimate and sudden conflagration of all things (2 Peter iii. 7-10).

De Ideâ Platonicâ quemadmodum Aristoteles intellexit.

7—10. "*Quis ille*," etc.: the Platonic Idea or Archetype. See Introduction.

10. "*exemplar Dei*": the model from which the Deity worked in the creation of Man.

11, 12. "*Haud ille*," etc. The meaning is "This Eternal Idea or Archetype is not a mere conception of the Divine Mind, a kind of twin with Minerva in the brain of Jove."

13—15. "*Sed, quamlibet*," etc.: *i.e.* "But, though his nature is common in the sense of being distributed among many, yet he stands apart after the manner of an individual unit, and, wonderful to tell, is bound to a definite locality." This seems to be a rendering, in the language of poetical burlesque, of one part of Aristotle's famous criticism of the Platonic doctrine of Ideas or Universals.

16—24. "*Seu sempiternus*," etc. Here Milton, still in

poetical burlesque of Aristotle, inquires what is the locality of the Archetype, in what part of the total Mundus he is to be sought; and in doing so he falls back, as always, on the Alphonsine conception of the Mundus as a thing of ten spheres (see note to preceding poem, 39-65).

25—34. "*Non, cui profundum,*" etc. The burlesque is still continued; only in this form:—No one can tell where the Archetype is: no one has ever seen him. Not the Dircæan augur (Theban prophet) Tiresias, whose blindness only enlarged his spiritual vision; not the God Mercury himself (here called by his Ovidian synonym "*Plĕiones nepos*"); not any old Assyrian priest, learned in the most ancient lore of Ninos, Belos, and Osiris; not even Hermes Trismegistus, though he knew all secrets and founded the Egyptian philosophy.

Ad Patrem.

14. "*Clio*": the muse of History, inasmuch as what he is to say about his Father is strictly true.

32—34. "*Ibimus,*" etc. Rev. iv. 4, and v. 8.

35—40. "*Spiritus et rapidos qui circinat igneus orbes,*
Nunc quoque." etc.

The "*nunc*" here is emphatic, meaning "Even now, while we are in this mortal life." See Ezekiel i. 20, and connect that text imaginatively with Milton's idea of the Heaven or Empyrean, as explained in the Introd. to *Par. Lost.*

56—66. "*Nec tu perge, precor,*" etc. On these compliments to his father on his musical distinction, see Introd.

66. "*Dividuum.*" The Latin adjective "*dividuus*" for "divisible" or "divisible into two" had fastened on Milton; and he turned it into English. See *Par. Lost*, VII. 382 and XII. 85; also *On Time*, 12.

74. "*procul urbano strepitu,*" *i.e.* at Horton. The "*sinis,*" in the present tense, in line 76, seems to certify that this poem was written there.

79. "*Cum mihi Romuleæ patuit facundia linguæ, et . . . grandia magniloquis elata vocabula Graiis,*" *i.e.* at St. Paul's School and the University.

82—85. "*Addere suasisti,*" etc. Milton seems to have added French, Italian, and Hebrew to his Latin and Greek

while he was at the University. His tutor Young had presented him with a Hebrew Bible as early as 1625. It is interesting to know that it was by his father's advice that he ranged beyond Greek and Latin.

84. "*barbaricos . . . tumultus*," *i.e.* the Germanic invasions, which created modern Italian by corrupting the old Latin.

86—92. "*Denique quicquid . . . per te nôsse liced, per te, si nôsse libebit*," etc. The tenses of the verbs seem to show that Milton, when he wrote this poem to his father at Horton, was actually engaged in those miscellaneous scientific studies of which he here speaks.

101—104. "*Ergo ego . . . victrices hederas inter laurosque sedebo*," etc. Todd quotes Virgil, *Ecl.* VIII. 12, 13.

115—120. "*Et vos, O nostri, juvenilia carmina, lusus*," etc. It does not seem to me improbable that these six lines were added to the poem just before its publication in the volume of 1645. Anyhow, it was a beautiful ending, and prophetic.

GREEK VERSES.

See Introductions to these Verses.

AD SALSILLUM, POETAM ROMANUM, ÆGROTANTEM. SCAZONTES.

1—5. "*O Musa, gressum quæ volens trahis claudum*," etc. A humorous description of the kind of verse in which he has chosen to address Salzilli: viz. the *Scazon*, *Choliambus*, or *Hipponactic Trimeter* (see Introd.) In Latin Scazons the strict rule of prosodians is that the last foot should always be a Spondee and the penultimate always an Iambus; Greek Scazons allowed either an Iambus or a Trochee for the penultimate. Milton, in the present piece, uses great license.

7, 8. "*Camœna nostra cui tantum est cordi, quamque*," etc. The reference is to Salzilli's extravagant Latin compliment to Milton (printed *antè*, I. 251).

22. "*Tam cultus ore Lesbium condis melos.*" This line is not a Scazon: see note, 1-5. The *Lesbium melos* is poetry after the manner of Alcæus and Sappho, natives of Lesbos. By *Romano ore* Milton probably means Italian, not Latin,

as it seems to have been by his Italian poetry that Salzilli was best known in Rome.

27, 28. "*Querceta Fauni, vosque rore vinoso*
Colles benigni, mitis Evandri sedes."

These are poetical designations for Rome and its neighbourhood. Both Faunus and Evander are important personages in the myths of primitive Latium.

33—35. "*Ipse inter atros emirabitur lucos Numa, ubi,*" etc. Warton's note on the passage is as follows:—"Very near the city of Rome, in the middle of a gloomy grove, is a romantic cavern with a spring, where Numa is fabled to have received the Roman laws from his wife Egeria, one of Diana's nymphs . . . When Numa died, Egeria is said to have retired thither to lament his death . . . On these grounds Milton builds the present beautiful fiction, that Numa, still living in this dark grove, in the perpetual contemplative enjoyment of his Egeria, from thence will listen with wonder to the poetry of the neighbouring bard."

38, 39. "*Nec in sepulchris ibit obsessum reges,*" etc. Inundations of the Tiber were frequent; and Milton has here in view Horace's description of one, Ode I. ii.

41. "*Curvi . . . Portumni.*" There was a temple to Portumnus at the mouth of the Tiber.

MANSUS.

1, 2. "*Hæc quoque,*" etc. Because, as Warton notes, these verses of Milton were but an addition to the numerous poetical testimonies already received by Manso.

4. "*Post Galli cineres, et Mecænatis Etrusci.*" Caius Cornelius Gallus, who died B.C. 26, at the age of about forty, was distinguished as a general, and also as a poet and orator, and was the intimate friend of Virgil, Ovid, and all the other eminent writers of the Augustan age. Of the Etruscan Mæcenas, and his celebrity in literature, nothing needs be said. He died B.C. 8.

6. "*Victrices hederas inter laurosque sedebis.*" See line 102 of the poem *Ad Patrem.*

11, 12. "*Dum canit Assyrios divûm prolixus amores,*" etc. The reference is to Marini's poem *L'Adone*, which is suitably characterized.

16. "*Vidimus arridentem operoso ex are poetam*": Marini's monument at Naples.

22, 23. "*Æmulus illius . . . qui,*" etc., *i.e.* Herodotus, born at Halicarnassus in Asia Minor, not far from Mount Mycale, and supposed to be the author of a *Life of Homer* still extant, but now named "Pseudo-Herodotean."

30—33. "*Nos etiam in nostro modulantes flumine cygnos,*" etc. "I believe it is an old tradition," says Wharton, "that, if swans sing, it is in the darkest and coldest nights of winter." The Thames has always been famous for its swans; and Ben Jonson had this in mind when he wrote of Shakespeare—

> "Sweet swan of Avon! what a sight it were
> To see thee in our water yet appear,
> And make those flights upon the banks of Thames
> That so did take Eliza and our James!"

34. "*Tityrus.*" By *Tityrus* Milton is supposed here to mean Chaucer, who had visited Italy about 1373 and seen Petrarch (Prologue to the *Clerkes Tale*). In Spenser's Pastorals *Tityrus* is a fancy-name for Chaucer.

38—48. "*Nos etiam colimus Phœbum, nos munera Phœbo . . . misimus,*" etc. There is a reference here, as Warton pointed out, to the belief that Apollo was worshipped by the ancient Britons. Assuming this belief, Milton, in the present passage, goes farther, and ventures to claim as native British Druidesses those Hyperborean nymphs who, according to Herodotus, brought from their far country offerings to Apollo and Artemis in Delos. Herodotus gives but two of these nymphs, and names them Upis and Arge; but Milton, as Warton noted, takes as his authority Callimachus, *Hymn. Del.* 292:—

> "Οὖπις τε, Λοξώ τε, καὶ εὐαίων 'Εκαέργη,
> Θυγατέρες Βορέαο."

To adapt these three nymphs the better to his purpose, he characterizes each of them, making Loxo the daughter of the famous giant-killing Corineus of Cornwall, the companion of Brutus (see note, *Lycidas*, 156-162), Upis a famous prophetess, and Hecaerge yellow-haired. Moreover, he supposes all the three British beauties to have been stained,

after the fashion of their country, with the Caledonian woad; and, not content with this, he feigns that the tradition of their visit had been preserved in Delos, so that the Greek girls there still had songs about Upis, Hecaerge, and Loxo. Altogether, the passage is a piece of scholarship finely turned into poetry.

56—69. "*At non . . . cælo fugitivus Apollo,*" etc. In this passage Milton recollects the Chorus in the *Alcestis* of Euripides, describing Apollo's music while he kept the herds of King Admetus (570 *et seq.*); and several of the phrases in the passage are waifs from Virgil, Ovid, and Horace. He has not, however, studied minute geographical consistency.

80—84. "*Siquando indigenas revocabo in carmina reges, Arturumque,*" etc. On the autobiographical significance of this passage, as the first announcement of Milton's intention to write a poem on the subject of Arthur and the British Legends, see Introd. to *Par. Lost,* II. 16. Compare also *Epitaph. Dam.* 162-171.—Todd quotes the phrase "*sociæque ad fœdera mensæ*" from Statius, *Theb.* VIII. 240.

85—93. "*Tandem, ubi,*" etc. A beautiful passage, written perhaps with tears.

EPITAPHIUM DAMONIS.

1—3. "*Himerides Nymphæ,*" etc. The *Himerides Nymphæ* are the nymphs of the Sicilian river Himera, mentioned more than once by Theocritus. There were, in reality, two rivers of this name in Sicily, one flowing to the south coast, and the other to the north. The northern Himera, which had the city of Himera at its mouth, is supposed to be the river of Theocritus. Milton's intention, however, is simply to invoke the Sicilian muses generally, the muses of Pastoral Poetry proper.

4. "*Thyrsis.*" Milton, in lamenting Diodati under the name of Damon, represents himself as Damon's surviving fellow-shepherd *Thyrsis.* The name is that of the chief speaker in the first Idyll of Theocritus; and thence it descended as a standing name in subsequent Pastoral poetry. Virgil has it for one of the speakers in his Seventh Eclogue; the English Pastoralists had not forgotten it; and Milton had already used it in his *Comus* as the name of the Guardian

Spirit in his guise of a shepherd. In that character it had been worn by the musician Henry Lawes, the performer in the part, who indeed claimed a kind of property in it by consequence (see Lawes's Dedication of the original edition of *Comus*, I. 166); but Milton now reclaims it for himself.

7. "*Damona.*" Virgil has a Damon as one of the speakers in his Eighth Eclogue.

9—11. "*Et jam bis,*" etc. This passage, though poetically expressed, gives the date of Diodati's death very exactly. It was in August 1638. See Introd.

12, 13. "*Nec dum aderat Thyrsis,*" etc., *i.e.* Diodati's death in England had happened while Milton was at Florence, on the first of his two visits to that city.

18. "*Ite domum impasti; domino jam non vacat, agni.*" This line is the burden, or recurring line, of the poem, beginning every paragraph after this point, and repeated in all seventeen times. The exquisite device of such a burden, or recurring line, breaking a long pastoral monologue into musical parts, is found in the Idylls of Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus, and also in Virgil's Eclogues.

27. "*nisi me lupus antè videbit.*" For this superstition compare Virgil, *Ecl.* IX. 54.

32. "*Pales,*" the Roman god, or goddess, of sheepfolds; "*Faunus*" (see note, *Ad Sals.* 27), the Roman god of fields and cattle. In this whole passage (29-32) there is a recollection of Virgil, *Ecl.* V. 76-80.

46. "*Mordaces curas.*" From Horace. See *L'Allegro*, 135, and note there.

56. "*Cecropiosque sales referet, cultosque lepores?*" *Cecropios* (from Cecrops, the mythical founder of the Athenian state) may be translated "Attic." In "*Cecropios sales*" there is a recollection of the phrase "*Attic salt,*" as a name for genuine wit; and in the whole line there is an allusion to Diodati's sprightly humour.

69, 70. "*Tityrus . . . Alphesibœus . . . Ægon . . . Amyntas.*" These fancy-names are all from the classic Pastoral. Milton may, or may not, have had real persons in view under these designations.

75. "*Mopsus.*" Another name from the classic Pastoral. In Virgil's *Ecl.* V. *Mopsus* is one of the speakers.

79, 80. "*Saturni grave sæpe fuit pastoribus astrum,*" etc. See note, *Il Pens.* 43.

88, 89. "*Hyas, Dryopeque, et filia Baucidis Ægle,*" etc. These female names are from the classic mythology, and are here turned to pastoral use.

90. "*Venit Idumanii Chloris vicina fluenti.*" If any one of the four shepherdesses mentioned was a real person of Milton's acquaintance, this Chloris might be she; for, as Warton explained, the *Idumanium fluentum*, from which she is said to have come, is the river Chelmer in Essex, near its influx into Blackwater Bay, called by Ptolemy *Portus Idumanius.*

115—117. "*Ecquid erat tanti Romam vidisse sepultam,*" etc. A reference to Virgil's First Eclogue, where the shepherd Tityrus tells the shepherd Melibœus of his visit to Rome and his first impressions of that great city. Milton all but borrows a line of the Eclogue.

126. "*Pastores Thusci*": the wits and literary men of Florence, among whom he had spent two months (Aug. and Sept.) in 1638, and again two months (March and April) in 1639.

127, 128. "*Thuscus tu quoque Damon, antiquâ genus unde petis Lucumonis ab urbe.*" For Diodati's genealogy see Introd. to *Elegia Prima.* By "*antiquâ Lucumonis urbe*" is meant Lucca.

132. "*Et potui Lycidæ certantem audire Menalcam!*" An allusion, in pastoral terms, to the discussions and trials of literary skill he had heard in the Florentine academies. Though Milton had two years before appropriated *Lycidas* immortally to Edward King of Cambridge, he does not hesitate to re-apply the name casually here.

133, 134. "*Ipse etiam tentare ausus sum,*" etc., *i.e.* Milton had himself in Florence partaken in the literary discussions of the Academies, and been complimented by his Florentine friends on his poetical and other abilities. As it does not appear that any of his Florentine friends knew English, what he did produce among them must have been in Latin or Italian. Of his poetical productions during his stay in Italy, there remain to us now the three little pieces *Ad Leonoram*, the poem *Ad Salsillum*, the poem *Mansus*, and the five Italian Sonnets and Canzone.

136—138. "*Quin et nostra . . . et Datis et Francinus . . . Lydorum sanguinis ambo.*" Milton here, after having referred to his Florentine friends generally as "*pastores*

Thusci," or "Tuscan shepherds," mentions two of them, Carlo Dati and Antonio Francini, with particular regard, and expressly by their own names, on account of the encomiums they had bestowed upon him, see I. 252-255. They are called "of the blood of the Lydians," in allusion to the ancient belief that the Etruscans came from Lydia in Asia Minor.

142. "*cum te cinis ater habebat.*" From Virgil, *Æn.* IV. 633.

149. "*Aut ad aquas Colni, aut ubi jugera Cassibelauni.*" The "*aquæ Colni*" sufficiently designate the neighbourhood of Horton in Bucks, the country-residence of Milton's father, where Milton had mainly lived from 1632 to 1638. The "*jugera Cassibelauni*" were the neighbourhood of St. Albans in Herts, where the British king Cassibelaunus, who opposed Cæsar, had his headquarters.

150—154. "*Tu mihi percurres medicos,*" etc. The reference is to Diodati's profession of medicine and his botanical knowledge. See *Comus*, 619-628, and note there.

155—160. "*Ipse etiam,*" etc. Observe the subtle connexion here with what has preceded. Milton has been speaking of Diodati's profession, of his botanical pursuits, of the topics of conversation these furnished in their walks, and now of the close of all this by death. Then he goes on to remember that he himself has a profession, if it may be so called,—that of letters and poetry,—and how often and how naturally, in exchange for Diodati's medical chat, he had talked with him about his own literary doings and plans. If Diodati had been still alive, to welcome him back to England, what would have been one of his first communications to that beloved friend? Would it not have been about a great English Poem he had been meditating while in Italy, and of which his mind was still so full that actually but a few days ago—eleven nights and a day, says Milton, with his usual exactness—he had been trying to make a beginning? Would he have ventured, after all, to tell even Diodati? And now, with no Diodati to hear, shall he risk putting his bold intention on paper? Observe the studied breaks in the syntax, the jerks of short clauses, with which he conveys his doubts whether it will be prudent to do so, and then the sudden resolution "*tamen et referam : vos cedite, sylvæ.*"

162—168. "*Ipse ego Dardanias,*" etc. In this famous

passage Milton divulges in greater detail that scheme of an Epic on the subject of King Arthur and Legendary British History which he had announced a year before in his poem to Manso (see *Mansus*, 80-84, and note there). All the proper names in the passage are significant. The "*Dardaniæ Rutupina per æquora puppes*" are the Trojan ships along the Kentish coasts, bringing Brutus and his wandering Trojan followers to their new home in Britain (*Rutupinus* being from *Rutupæ* or *Rutupiæ*, now *Richborough* in Kent). The "*Pandrasidos regnum vetus Inogeniæ*" is the realm which Brutus established in Britain, called, in poetical gallantry, not his, but that of his wife Inogen, or Imogen, the daughter of the Grecian king Pandrasus, with whom Brutus and his Trojans had fought in the course of their Mediterranean wanderings. In the line "*Brennumque Arviragumque duces, priscumque Belinum*" we are led farther on in British legendary history, and touch it at two long-separated points. Brennus and Belinus are two famous British brothers, sons of Dunwallo Molmutius, the second founder of the British nation, more than six hundred years after its first foundation by Brutus. For Arviragus, though he is wedged into the line with the two brothers, and indeed separates them, we must come down to the time of the Roman occupation of Britain; for he was one of the sons of the British king Cunobelin (Shakespeare's Cymbeline), and fought against the Roman invaders about A.D. 45. In the succeeding line "*Et tandem Armoricos Britonum sub lege colonos*" we overleap several centuries more, and arrive at the period of the supposed colonization of Armorica in France by refugee Britons escaping from the cruelties of Hengist, Horsa, and their Pagan Saxons. Thus at last we reach the main subject: *i.e.* the birth of the great Arthur, whose mother was Igraine, wife of Duke Gorlois of Cornwall, but whose father was not this Gorlois, but Uther Pendragon, King of all Britain, introduced into the lady's castle, in the likeness of her dead husband, by the craft of the magician Merlin.—How Milton was to weld into one epic all these masses of legend, straggling over some sixteen hundred years of imagined time, cannot be known. Within a year after the *Epitaphium Damonis* was written, the notion of an Arthurian Epic was abandoned and other subjects were occupying his mind. See Introd. to *Par. Lost*, pp. 16-19.

168—171. "*O, mihi tum si vita supersit . . . Brittonicum strides.*" If Milton had carried out his great Arthurian project, then, as he here says, the simpler pastoral pipe which he had hitherto used most in his poetry would have been hung up and forgotten, and, as he also says, the Latin verse, which he had so much practised, would have been exchanged for native strains and the British war-screech.

171—178. "*Quid enim? omnia non licet uni,*" etc. In this passage Milton still pursues the idea of his great intended Epic, and emphasizes the fact that it was to be in English. In that fact there was certainly a drawback, for it would limit his constituency of readers to his own countrymen. What then? He would be content with that constituency! Yes! let him be unknown all through the foreign world, if he should be read along all the rivers and all the shores of his own native island! The enumeration of British rivers and coasts in the present passage is very poetical, and may be compared with that in *At a Vacation Exercise*, 91-100.

181—197. "*tum quæ mihi pocula Mansus . . . bina dedit, mirum artis opus,*" etc. I do not see any other possible interpretation of this passage than that which accepts it as a description of an actual pair of cups or goblets, with designs painted or engraved on them, which the Neapolitan Manso had given to Milton as a keepsake, and which Milton had hoped to show to Diodati.

198—219. "*Tu quoque in his,*" etc. This closing passage is in a strain of noble and surprising phrenzy. Observe the transition from the preceding description of one of the designs on the cups,—the Heaven of the gods, and Love not absent even there, but shooting his darts right up among the gods themselves. "Thou too art among *them,*" he exclaims, addressing the dead Damon; and then, once on the track of his favourite idea of a mystic or divine Love active even in heavenly hearts among the heavenly hierarchies (see note, *Comus*, 999, *et seq.*), he remains in that idea to the end. Compare lines 165-181 of *Lycidas* and note there.

AD JOANNEM ROUSIUM: ODE.

Milton's Note on the Verse. The substance is that the Ode is a metrical whim, outraging all the traditions of Latin

prosody, and falling back rather on that boundless license of the easy Greeks which Martial had envied.

1—3. "*Gemelle cultu simplici gaudens liber,*
Fronde licet geminâ,
Munditieque nitens non operosâ."

An exact description of the missing copy of the Moseley, or 1645, edition of Milton's Poems, which had been sent to Rous at Oxford (see Introd.) It was a double book, consisting of the English Poems and the Latin, separately paged, and with a separate title-page to the Latin Poems, but the two parts bound together in one neat volume.

7, 8. "*Dum vagus Ausonias nunc per umbras,*
Nunc Britannica per vireta lusit."

The poems had been composed partly in "Ausonian shades," *i.e.* in Italy, partly in "British green fields," *i.e.* in England.

10—12. "*mox itidem pectine Daunio,*" etc. Both Warton and Mr. Keightley understand this as a reference to the Italian Sonnets in the volume; but it seems more natural, in the context, to take *Daunian* as comprehending the Latin Poems with the Italian. The word *Daunia* applied strictly to a portion of Apulia in South-eastern Italy; and its extension either to ancient Italy generally or to modern Italy is a poetic license.

18. "*Thamesis ad incunabula.*" Milton here adopts the popular fancy that the Thames begins to be the true *Thamesis* a little below Oxford, where the longer Isis, after being reinforced by the Cherwell, receives also the Thames as its tributary, and so starts afresh Londonwards as the *Thame-Isis*. The English poets were fond of this fancy and of its association with Oxford. See Spenser, *F. Q.*, IV. xi. 24-26.

29. "*Tollat nefandos,*" etc. The civil wars had lasted since 1642; and, as Oxford had been the King's head-quarters, the University there had especially suffered.

33—36. "*Immundasque volucres . . . figat Apollineâ pharetrâ, Phineamque abigat pestem,*" etc. As it was not Apollo that delivered Phineus from the Harpies, the phrase "*Apollineâ pharetrâ*" is used with reference to the quiver which the deity who will perform the like service for England will bear. It will be the quiver of that monster-killing god who is also the God of Poetry. So also Thames, the seat of Oxford, is the "*amnis Pegaseus,*" the river of the winged

Pegasus, the horse of the Muses, at the stroke of whose hoof sprang up the sacred Hippocrene.—Who, in 1646-7, were the harpies and unclean birds of England, in Milton's estimation, one can easily guess (see *Sonnets* XI. and XII., and *On the New Forcers of Conscience*, and Introductions and Notes to those pieces). Some of them had fastened especially on Oxford. But Milton must have had in view also the Royalists and Prelatists.

73—87. "*Vos tandem . . . Roüsio favente.*" Warton and Mr. Keightley think that this Epode has in view chiefly the future fate of those of Milton's prose-writings that had been sent to Rous (see Introd.); but, though these are included, I do not see that he distinguishes between them and the poems he was now replacing in their companionship.

IN SALMASII HUNDREDAM: IN SALMASIUM.

On these two scraps see Introd.—Salmasius ranked as an *Eques* or Knight on the continent, having, as Todd notes, been presented with the Order of St. Michael by Louis XIII. of France.—Of "*Mungentium cubito virorum*" Warton notes that this was a cant name among the Romans for fishmongers.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

TWO RECOVERED SCRAPS OF LATIN VERSE ON EARLY RISING.

Some years ago, Mr. Alfred J. Horwood, when examining the family papers of Sir Frederick U. Graham, of Netherby, Cumberland, Bart., for the purposes of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, came upon an old Latin Common-Place Book of Milton's, a good deal of it in his own handwriting, containing jottings of books he had read, and notes and suggestions from them at various times of his life. Together with this Common-Place Book there was found a single loose leaf of foolscap paper, "much damaged by damp," on which was a short Latin prose-essay,

headed "MANE CITUS LECTUM FUGE," with some appended Latin verses on the same subject. As the leaf bore the name *Milton* still distinctly legible on its left margin, and as the handwriting bore in parts a strong resemblance to some of Milton's, Mr. Horwood concluded that the essay was a juvenile Academic Prolusion of Milton's on the subject of Early Rising, which he had not thought it worth while to print with the collection of his other *Prolusiones Oratoriæ* in 1674. Accordingly, when editing the Common-Place Book for the Camden Society in 1877, he appended the little essay and the verses, entitling the volume "*A Common-Place Book of John Milton, and a Latin Essay and Latin Verses presumed to be by Milton.*" With the essay, as it is in prose, we have nothing to do here; but the verses, if only on the chance that they are an additional and accidentally recovered scrap of Milton's juvenile metrical composition in Latin, deserve reproduction. There are, in reality, two distinct pieces of verse, in different metres, though both on the subject of Early Rising, and both evidently intended as poetical appendages to the Prose Prolusion written on the same leaf:—

CARMINA ELEGIACA.

Surge, age, surge! Leves, jam convenit, excute somnos!
    Lux oritur; tepidi fulcra relinque tori.
Jam canit excubitor gallus, prænuncius ales
    Solis, et invigilans ad sua quemque vocat.
Flammiger Eois Titan caput exerit undis,
    Et spargit nitidum læta per arva jubar.
Daulias argutum modulatur ab ilice carmen,
    Edit et excultos mitis alauda modos.
Jam rosa fragrantes spirat silvestris odores;
    Jam redolent violæ luxuriatque seges.
Ecce novo campos Zephyritis gramine vescit
    Fertilis, et vitreo rore madescit humus.
Segnes invenias molli vix talia lecto,
    Cum premat imbellis lumina fessa sopor.
Illic languentes abrumpunt somnia somnos,
    Et turbant animum tristia multa tuum;
Illic tabifici generantur semina morbi:
    Qui pote torpentem posse valere virum?
Surge, age, surge! Leves, jam convenit, excute somnos!
    Lux oritur; tepidi fulcra relinque tori."

[Asclepiadic Verses.]

Ignavus satrapam dedecet inclytum
Somnus qui populo multifido præest.
Dum Dauni veteris filius armiger
Stratus purpureo p . . . buit . . . .
Audax Eurialus Nisus et impiger
Invasere cati nocte sub horrida
Torpentes Rutilos castraque Volscia:
Hinc cædes oritur clamor et absonus.

The text in both pieces is given as it stands in Mr. Horwood's transcript, save that the punctuation is corrected. There seem to be errors in some of the lines of the first piece. Neglecting these, we may say (1) that the internal evidence on the whole confirms the strong external evidence that the pieces are Milton's, and (2) that the style proves that in that case they must have been very early compositions of his. In all probability, they, and the Latin Prolusion to which they were attached, were done as a Latin theme when he was at St. Paul's School. If they were done later, they must have been among his very first exercises in Latin at Christ's College, Cambridge.

NOTES TO PARADISE LOST.

NOTES TO PRELIMINARY MATTER.

I. Commendatory Verses prefixed to the Second Edition.

Latin Verses by S.B., M.D.—The author was Dr. Samuel Barrow, a physician. He was principal physician to the army of General Monk in Scotland in December 1659, when Monk was negotiating for the Restoration; and he was afterwards Advocate-General and Judge-Martial under the Restoration Government, and Physician in Ordinary to Charles II. He died March 21, 1681-82.——He has taken the liberty, in the title to his verses, and in the first line, of making *Paradisus* feminine, whereas the Greek and Latin writers make the word masculine.

English Verses by A. M. (i.e. *Andrew Marvell*).—Marvell's intimacy with Milton had begun in 1652; and he had been Milton's assistant or colleague in the Latin Secretaryship to Cromwell from September 1657, and had retained office with him, after Cromwell's death (Sept. 1658), till the very eve of the Restoration. The present verses are but one out of many testimonies of Marvell's profound and affectionate regard for his illustrious friend. When they appeared, Marvell was about fifty-four years of age, had been M.P. for Hull in the Restoration House of Commons for about fourteen years, and was a marked public man both for his political honesty and for his literary ability. The last he had recently exhibited, with much popular effect, in his celebrated satirical invective, *The Rehearsal Transprosed* (1672-3), directed against Dr. Samuel Parker, who, after a youth of peculiarly strict Puritan professions, had turned renegade at the Restoration, was receiving ecclesiastical pro-

motion on his way to the Bishopric of Oxford, and had published several works of a notoriously time-serving character. Milton's name had been dragged into the controversy by Parker and his friends, on the pretext that it was he that was inspiring Marvell; and this had given occasion to a passage in the second part of the *Rehearsal Transprosed*, in which Marvell explained his real relations to Milton, and protested against the liberties that had been taken with the name of such a man. That was about a year before the appearance of the present verses, all that needs annotation in which is the attack on Dryden which they veil under the compliment to Milton.——Dryden must have been personally known to Milton and Marvell since 1657, when he was an undistinguished young man of six-and-twenty, hanging on about the court of Oliver, and receiving occasional employment from Oliver's Chief Secretary, Thurloe. Since then, accommodating himself to the Restoration, he had sprung into deserved celebrity as the very highest man of the Restoration Literature. His supremacy had been formally recognised by his appointment in 1670 to the Laureateship, vacant by the death of Davenant in 1668. Now, since the beginning of Dryden's celebrity, one of his special distinctions had been his championship of rhyme in poetry, in opposition to blank verse. Not only had he assumed, with most of his contemporaries, that rhyme was absolutely essential in all serious non-dramatic poetry; but he had contended that in the Drama itself, and especially in the Tragic Drama, there ought to be a return to rhyme, the practice of Shakespeare and the other Elizabethans to the contrary notwithstanding. He had maintained this doctrine in prose-essays, and he had tried to enforce it by his own example in his Heroic Plays. The appearance, therefore, of Milton's *Paradise Lost* in 1667 must have come upon Dryden like a blow. An epic in blank verse was a startling novelty, almost a monstrosity. All the more creditable to Dryden's generosity and critical discernment is the fact that he had been among the first to recognise and proclaim the extraordinary merits of the new poem. He had even been drawn by it into personal intercourse, or re-renewed personal intercourse, with the blind poet, in his retirement in the Bunhill suburb. Of one visit of the Poet Laureate to Milton in his last years we have a very particular account. It was in the winter of 1673-4. Dryden had con-

ceived the idea of an adaptation of some parts of *Paradise Lost* for what was then called an "opera," *i.e.* a stage-representation with scenery and appropriate song and recitative. He therefore called on Milton to ask leave to turn portions of the poem into a dramatic and rhymed form. "Mr. Milton received him civilly, and told him that he would give him leave to tag his verses," is Aubrey's account of the result of the interview. The exact meaning of Milton's words will be understood when it is explained that *tags* were the metal points at the ends of the laces or cords then so much used for the fastenings of dresses. A blank verse, in Milton's humorous fancy for the moment, was an *untagged* line, and to make it rhyme was to put on a *tag* or shining point. Dryden did to some extent perform this process on a portion of Milton's epic, the issue being his "heroic opera" entitled *The Fall of Angels and Man in Innocence.* The strange performance was not published by Dryden till after Milton's death in the end of 1674; but many copies of it had been in private circulation already, and Milton must have received one. In the third paragraph of Marvell's verses he distinctly refers to Dryden's operatic transversion of *Paradise Lost*, characterising the attempt as impudent. In the last paragraph, where he touches on the controversy between Blank Verse and Rhyme, we have a curious proof that Milton must have talked to him of Dryden's recent visit, and repeated to him the very words of the reply given to Dryden. Two of the lines in that paragraph are simply an expansion of Milton's jest about *tagging* his verses. In the following lines Marvell's meaning is: "In this kind of verse, which is Dryden's favourite kind, you see how the necessity of finding a rhyme to *offend* forces me to end the next line with *commend*, though it is a weaker and less natural word than might otherwise have suggested itself. Generalise this one instance, and the superiority of Milton's unrhymed verse for all great purposes will be apparent." Though Dryden is not named, no reader in 1674 could have misunderstood the reference. In the Duke of Buckingham's famous farce called *The Rehearsal*, brought out at the King's Theatre in the winter of 1671-2, expressly for the purpose of satirizing Dryden's dramatic notions and turning himself into ridicule, Dryden had been personated, as poet-laureate, in the character of *Bayes;* and this nickname of *Bayes* had stuck to him.

II. Author's Preface concerning the Verse.

There can be no doubt that Milton was thinking of Dryden and his championship of Rhyme when he wrote this preface. It is perhaps the most thorough-going contradiction of Dryden's doctrine to be found in the language, though a very strong passage to the same general effect will be found in Ascham's *Schoolmaster* (1570). Milton, it may be observed, takes no notice of Surrey's memorable first introduction of blank verse into English in his translation of the Second and Fourth Books of the Æneid, but only glances at the remarkable phenomenon of the sudden adoption of Blank Verse for English Tragedy by Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, in 1561, and the general persistence in that form by all the subsequent Elizabethan dramatists. But, though citing this prevalence of Blank Verse in English Dramatic Poetry for nearly a century past as a precedent in his favour, and though doubtless aware that there had been stray specimens of English non-dramatic poetry in blank verse subsequent to Surrey's, he closes his Preface, truly enough, with a claim for his own *Paradise Lost* "to be esteemed an example set, the first in English, of ancient liberty recovered to heroic poem from the troublesome and modern bondage of riming." In other words, Milton regarded himself as the first to apply English Blank Verse to a great epic subject and to show how the music of Blank Verse might be modified for epic purposes.——Milton's present invective against Rhyme is to be received, I imagine, *cum grano*. Though he had used blank verse in his own earlier poetry, as in *Comus*, had not the bulk of that poetry been in rhyme? Nay, though he was to persist in blank verse in the two remaining poems of his life—*Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*,—was he not, in the choruses of *Samson Agonistes*, to revert occasionally to rhyme, and to use it in a most cunningly artistic manner?

NOTES TO PARADISE LOST.

BOOK I.

1—26. "*Of Man's first disobedience . . . sing, Heavenly Muse,*" etc. It is expressly the HEBREW Muse that Milton invokes,—the Muse that may be supposed to have inspired the shepherd Moses, either on Mount Horeb, when he was keeping the flocks of his father-in-law Jethro, and the Angel of the Lord appeared to him out of the burning bush (Exod. iii. 1, 2), or at a later date on Mount Sinai, when he was alone with the Lord for forty days, receiving the Law (Exod. xxiv. 12-18). On either of these occasions Milton supposes Moses to have received that inspiration which enabled him to reveal, in *Genesis*, how the Heavens and the Earth were made; and it was the same Heavenly Muse, he assumes, that afterwards, by Siloa's brook or pool, near the temple at Jerusalem (Isaiah viii. 6, and Nehem. iii. 15), inspired also David and the Prophets. This Muse, and no other, must inspire the present poet. For the theme that he proposes requires such aid: his song is one that intends to soar *above* the Aonian Mount—*i.e.* above that Mount Helicon, in old Aonia or Bœotia, which, with the neighbouring region, was the fabled haunt of the Grecian Muses. In the end, however, this form of an invocation even of what might be called, by a bold adaptation of classic terms, the true, primeval, or Heavenly Muse (Milton afterwards, *P. L.*, VII. 1, calls her Urania), passes into a direct prayer to the Divine Spirit. Milton believed himself to be, in some real sense, an inspired man.

50—53. "*Nine times the space,*" etc. The nine days in this passage are not the nine days of the *fall* of the Angels out of Heaven into Hell (VI. 871), but nine *subsequent* days

during which the Angels lay in stupor in Hell after their fall.

62, 63. "*from those flames no light; but rather darkness visible,*" etc. It seems to have been a common idea that the flames of Hell gave no light.

73, 74. "*As far removed,*" etc. See Introd. p. 34. *The centre* here is the Earth; *pole* is the extreme of the Mundane Universe.

75. "*Oh how unlike the place from whence they fell.*" Not unlike one of the phrases in that passage of Cædmon's Anglo-Saxon Paraphrase which some suppose Milton to have consulted in the edition of Cædmon, with a Latin version by Francis Junius, published at Amsterdam in 1655 (see Introd. p. 15).

80, 81. "*Long after known in Palestine, and named Beelzebub.*" The word "Baal," meaning "Lord," was a general name for "god" among the Semitic nations; and their different Baals or gods were designated by names compounded of this word and others either indicating localities or signifying qualities. *Baal-zebub,* or Beelzebub, means literally "the God of Flies." This particular deity was worshipped at Ekron in Palestine; and that he was an important deity may be gathered from his being referred to afterwards (Matthew xii. 24) as "Beelzebub, the prince of the devils."

82. "*And thence in Heaven called* SATAN." *Satan,* in Hebrew, means "Enemy."

86. "*didst outshine.*" The more usual construction would be "did outshine."

109. "*And what is else not to be overcome?*" "All is not lost," Satan here says: "the unconquerable will, etc. . . . and courage never to submit or yield: *and what else is there that is not to be overcome?*" or "*and what is there that else* (*i.e.* without the fore-mentioned qualities) *is not to be overcome?*" or "*and in what else does not to be overcome* (*i.e.* invincibility) *consist?*"

198. "*Titanian or Earth-born.*" The Titans, in the Greek mythology, were the progeny of Heaven and Earth, and were distinct from the Giants, who were represented either as sprung from the Earth itself or as sons of Tartarus and the Earth.

199, 200. "*Briareos or Typhon,*" etc. Briareos, a hun-

dred-handed, fifty-headed monster, of Titan lineage, first aided Jupiter against the Titans, but afterwards helped the Giants in their war with him. Typhon or Typhœus, a hundred-headed monster, who also warred against the gods, had his den in Cilicia, of which Tarsus was a city.

201—208. "*Leviathan*," etc. Commentators see in this passage a reference to the fables in books of vast whales and other rough-skinned sea-monsters seen by voyagers in the Scandinavian seas.

202. "*Created hugest that swim the Ocean-stream*": a line purposely of difficult sound.

204. "*night-foundered.*" Milton has this exact word once besides—*Comus*, 483. In both places he uses the word in the same sense, *i.e.* brought to a stand by the coming on of night.

207. "*under the lee*," *i.e.* on that side of the monster which was protected from the wind.

232. "*Pelorus*," a promontory in Sicily.

235. "*Sublimed*," etc. Sublimation in chemistry is the conversion of solid substances into vapour by heat, so that, in cooling, they may become solid again in a purer form.

254. "*The mind is its own place.*" This is one of the only three places in which the word *its* occurs in Milton's poetry. The other two places are *P. L.*, IV. 813, and *Ode on the Nat.* 106. See Essay on Milton's English, pp. 174-186.

257. "*And what I should be, all but less than he*": a phrase of difficult construction: meaning either "And what I should be—viz. all but just next to him," etc.; or "And what I should be, all but (except) that I am less than he," etc.

288—290. "*Through optic glass the Tuscan artist . . . top of Fesolè . . . or in Valdarno.*" The Tuscan artist is Galileo, who first employed the telescope for astronomical purposes about 1609. Fesolè is a height close to Florence. Valdarno is the valley of the Arno, in which Florence itself lies.

294. "*ammiral*," or *admiral*, here means the ship, not the commander.

303. "*Vallombrosa.*" Literally "the shady valley," a beautiful valley eighteen miles from Florence, where Milton may have spent some days in 1638. See Wordsworth's verses "At Vallombrosa."

305. "*Orion armed.*" The constellation Orion, called "armed" because of his sword and belt, was supposed to

bring stormy weather at certain seasons. Both Virgil and Petrarch have the exact phrase.

307. "*Busiris,*" etc. An Egyptian king of this name figures in Greek legends as noted for his hostility to foreigners; and Milton follows Raleigh, in his *Hist. of the World*, in making him the Pharaoh who oppressed the Israelites. —"*Memphian,*" from the great city Memphis, stands for *Egyptian* generally.

339. "*Amram's son,*" *i.e.* Moses. See Exod. vi. 16-20; also Exod. x. 12-15.

353. "*Rhene or the Danaw.*" Rhine or the Danube.

364—375. "*Nor had they yet . . . got them new names,*" etc. Observe in this passage Milton's adoption for his poem of the mediæval belief that the Devils or Fallen Angels became the Gods of the various Heathen or Polytheistic religions. De Quincey, in one of his essays (*Milton*, vol. vi. of De Quincey's works), has ingeniously used the fact as a sufficient answer to the objection made by some to Milton on the ground that, in his *Paradise Lost* and other poems, he has blended the Pagan mythology and its names and forms with the Christian. Milton, De Quincey holds, had set himself right for ever on that subject by his adoption of the theory that the Pagan Deities, as but lapsed Angels, all belonged to the same Biblical concern.

381—505. "*The chief were those,*" etc. In this splendid passage of 125 lines Milton, according to the idea mentioned in the preceding note, enumerates first the principal idols of the Semitic nations round about the Israelites.

392—405. "*First, Moloch, horrid king,*" etc. For the Scriptural accounts of Moloch (meaning "king" in Hebrew), here represented as more particularly the god of the Ammonites, see Levit. xviii. 21; 1 Kings xi. 7; 2 Sam. xii. 26-29: see also Judges xi. 12-18. The "*opprobrious hill*" is the Mount of Olives, on which Solomon built a temple to Moloch (1 Kings xi. 7, and 2 Kings xxiii. 13, 14). The "*pleasant valley of Hinnom*" (*Ghe-Hinnom:* see Jerem. vii. 31, 32) was on the east side of Jerusalem: here was *Tophet*, supposed to mean "the place of timbrels." The word "Gehenna," now "the type of Hell," or a synonym for Hell, is borrowed from the name of this valley, which, originally the most beautiful valley about Jerusalem, was afterwards, in consequence of its having been polluted by the worship of Moloch

and other idols, degraded by the pious kings, and converted into a receptacle for all the filth of the city.

406—418. "*Next Chemos,*" etc. For references to this god of the Moabites and to the places mentioned in the passage, see 1 Kings xi. 7; 2 Kings xxiii. 13; Numb. xxi. 25-29, xxv. 1-9; Deut. xxxii. 49; Isaiah xv. 1, 2, 4, 5, and xvi. 2, 8, 9; and Jerem. xlviii. 1-47. The "*Asphaltic Pool*" is the Dead Sea.

419-437. "*With these came they who,*" etc. Here are suggested, under the general names of Baalim and Ashtaroth, a number of the miscellaneous gods, male and female, of various parts of Syria, from the Euphrates to Egypt.—The dilatability or compressibility of the Spirits at will is a postulate for the whole action of Paradise Lost.

437—446. "*With these, in troop, came Astoreth,*" etc. Astoreth was more particularly the goddess of the Phœnicians. See Jer. vii. 18; 1 Kings xi. 4, 5; and 2 Kings xxiii. 13.

446—457. "*Thammuz came next,*" etc. Thammuz, a Syrian love-god, originally of the parts about Lebanon. The legend was that he was killed by a wild boar in Lebanon; and the phenomenon of the reddening at a particular season every year of the waters of the Adonis, a stream which flows from Lebanon to the sea near Byblos, was mythologically accounted for by supposing that the blood of Thammuz was then flowing afresh. There were annual festivals at Byblos in Phœnicia in honour of Thammuz, held every year at the season referred to. Women were the chief performers at these festivals,—the first part of which consisted in lamentations for the death of Thammuz, and the rest in rejoicings over his revival. The worship spread over the East, and even into Greece, where Thammuz became the celebrated Adonis, the beloved of Venus. See Ezek. viii. 12-14.

457—466. "*Next came one who mourned in earnest,*" etc.: *i.e.* Dagon, the god of the Philistines, whose cause for mourning, as related 1 Sam. v. 1-9, was more real than that of Thammuz. "*Azotus*" is the Ashdod of that passage. "*Grunsel,*" *i.e.* "ground-sill" or "threshold."

467—476. "*Him followed Rimmon,*" etc. Rimmon, another Syrian god, worshipped at Damascus. The "leper" whom he lost is Naaman (see 2 Kings v.): for his gaining of King Ahaz, see 2 Kings xvi. 10-20.

476—489. "*After these appeared a crew . . . Osiris, Isis,*

Orus, and their train." Here we have the gods of Egypt, who were represented in all manner of grotesque animal forms. Hence the phrases "wandering gods," and "bleating gods."——"*Borrowed gold*": it was with the gold borrowed from the Egyptians (Exod. xii. 35) that the Israelites were supposed to have made the golden calf (Exod. xxxii.) The "rebel king" who doubled that sin is Jeroboam (1 Kings xii. 26-33). See also Psalm cvi. 19, 20.

490—505. "*Belial came last,*" etc. Next to the first place in such a procession the last place is, at least in poetic custom, the post of honour: hence Belial, who closes the procession, is a hardly less important personage than Moloch, who led it. See Deut. xiii. 13; 1 Sam. ii. 12.

502. "*flown with insolence,*" etc., *i.e.* flowed, flooded, flushed.

503—505. The allusions here are to the narratives in Gen. xix. 8 and Judges xix. 22, 28. In the first edition the text stood thus:—

> "Witness the streets of Sodom, and that night
> In Gibeah, when hospitable doors
> Yielded their matrons, to prevent worse rape."

These words not being in strict accordance with the narratives referred to, Milton, for subsequent editions, altered the text to what it now is.

507—521. "*The rest were long to tell,*" etc. Having enumerated those great leading Spirits who afterwards became the chief Gods of the Semitic or Oriental nations, Milton does not think it necessary to be equally minute about those others, imagined by him probably as of inferior rank, who became afterwards the Gods of what we should now call the various Indo-European Polytheisms.——At one of these Polytheisms, the Greek or Classical or Mediterranean, he does glance, because of its renown; for, in a few lines, we have the genealogy of "the Ionian gods," who were worshipped by the issue of Javan, the fourth son of Japheth, and the progenitor more particularly of the Gentiles of the Isles (Gen. x. 2-5). This theogony, however, is rapidly disposed of. Titan is named as the earliest supreme god; superseded by Saturn; who, in his turn, is dethroned by Zeus: the final expansion of the Greek mythology in its richest or Jovian stage being left to the imagination, helped by the

mere mention of Crete, Ida, Olympus, Delphi, and Dodona. The original theogonies of the lands west of Greece—viz.: Italy and Spain ("*the Hesperian Fields*"), Gaul ("*the Celtic*"), and Britain (with other "*utmost Isles*")—are represented as branching off from the Grecian theogony in its Saturnian stage. This branching off is connected with the legend of the flight of Saturn into Italy, as in *Æn.* viii. 319-20.——The Scandinavian and Slavonian mythologies, it will be seen, are not even named, any more than those of the Mongolian and Negro races. The founders of these were as yet among the obscurest of the Devils.

534. "*Azazel.*" The name, according to Hume, signifies in Hebrew "the scape-goat" (Levit. xvi.); but Newton translates it "brave in retreat."

550. "*Dorian mood,*" *i.e.* the Doric or grave style of music, as distinct from the Lydian or Phrygian. Compare *Alleg.* 136.

565. "*with ordered spear and shield.*" This and other passages show Milton's acquaintance with military terms and manœuvres. To "*order arms,*" which soldiers always do when they come to a halt, is to let them drop perpendicularly by their sides, the butts on the ground.

575, 576. "*that small infantry,*" etc.: *i.e.* the Pygmies, a legendary nation of Indian or Ethiopian dwarfs.

576—587. "*all the giant brood of Phlegra,*" etc. In this passage of finely-sounding proper names, Milton connects the great wars of epic legend, ancient and modern:—the primæval wars of the Giants and Gods at Phlegra in Macedonia; the Trojan and Theban wars sung by the Greek poets; those of the British Arthur; and the combats and joustings between the Christians and the Saracens all along the Mediterranean, celebrated in mediæval romances. Among the legends of Charlemain and his Paladins is that of their defeat, and of the death of Roland, at Roncesvalles in the Pyrenees, not far from Fontarabia.

609, 610. "*amerced of Heaven,*" *i.e.* "punished with the loss of Heaven." The word "to *amerce*" (noun *amercement* or *amerciament*) was an old law term, meaning "to punish by a fine at the discretion of the Court," and derived from the French phrase *à merci.*

618. "*Attention held them mute.*" Another military phrase. When soldiers listen, they "stand at attention."

632, 633. "*whose exile hath emptied Heaven.*" A rhetorical exaggeration: only a third part of the heavenly host had joined Satan (II. 692, V. 710, VI. 156).

673, 674. "*metallic ore, the work of sulphur.*" The science of the Middle Ages, inherited by Paracelsus, based itself on a doctrine that sulphur and mercury were the two all-pervading substances in nature (unless salt was to be taken as a third), generating all things between them.

686. "*Ransacked the Centre.*" *Centre* here is the Earth as a whole, not its interior merely. In old literature the Earth, as the supposed centre of the Universe, was frequently called "the centre" *par excellence.* Thus Shakespeare (*Troil. and Cres.* I. iii.):

> "The heavens themselves, the planets, and this centre,
> Observe degree, priority, and place."

728. "*cressets*": open vessels, with tarred ropes or the like burning in them.

739, 740. "*in Ausonian land* [*i.e.* Italy] *men call him Mulciber.*" Observe the identification here of Mammon with Vulcan, one of whose names was Mulciber (the Softener).

756. "*Pandemonium.*" Some think Milton the inventor of the word, formed on the analogy of *Pantheon.*

789—792. "*Thus incorporeal Spirits to smallest shapes,*" etc. See note 419-437. There is a quaint ingenuity in the present application of Milton's postulate as to the expansibility or compressibility of the forms of the Spirits.

BOOK II.

2. "*Ormus*": now Hormuz, an island in the Persian Gulf.

9. "*by success untaught.*" The word "success" is here used not for "good fortune," but as equivalent merely to "event" or "issue."

76, 77. "*descent and fall to us is adverse,*" *i.e.* inconsistent with our nature. It is a proposition with Milton, as to the physical nature of the Angels, that they are not, like men, subject to gravitation. The Rebel Angels had not properly *fallen* though Chaos into Hell; they had been *driven* down (lines 77-81). See Introd. p. 29.

100, 101. "*we are at worst on this side nothing.*" This

is sometimes printed, "*we are, at worst, on this side nothing*"; which spoils the meaning. Moloch means "We are now already at the worst that is possible on this side of total annihilation."

165. "*strook.*" See Note to *Od. Nat.* 95.

278. "*the sensible of pain,*" *i.e.* either the sensible property of pain, or the sensibility to pain.

299—309. "*Which when Beelzebub perceived,*" etc. Observe how Milton reserves the decisive speech for the great angel, Beelzebub, the chief next to Satan, and already in private possession of his plans. In the preceding speeches Milton intended, doubtless, to represent poetically three very common types even of human statesmanship. Some men, in emergencies, take the Moloch view of affairs, which recommends boisterous action at all hazards; others take the Belial view, which recommends slothful and epicurean acquiescence; and others the Mammon view, which believes in the material industries and the accumulation of wealth. The Angels in the Council are evidently inclining to Belial's view, or to that as modified by Mammon, when a greater statesman than any of the three strikes in with a specific plan of action, not vague and blustering like Moloch's, but subtly adapted to the exigencies.

379, 380. "*first devised by Satan, and in part proposed.*" See I. 650-656.

410. "*The happy Isle.*" Not "the earth hanging in the sea of air," as Bishop Newton and the commentators generally have supposed, for the Angels know nothing whatever as yet of the Earth or its environment. They know only vaguely of some kind of starry world about to be created, or perhaps created already; and this world, the whole Mundane Universe, hung somewhere in Chaos between Heaven and Hell, is what Beelzebub imagines as "the happy Isle" that might be reached.

432—444. "*Long is the way,*" etc. In these twelve lines, we have, from Satan's lips, a farther general sketch of the Miltonic zones or divisions of infinite Space, taken in ascending series. First there is Hell, or the huge convex of fire in which the speaker and his hearers are; when that is burst, and the adamantine gates overhead are passed, Chaos is reached; and somewhere over Chaos is the unknown new Starry World.

512. "*A globe of fiery Seraphim.*" *Globe*, though generally interpreted here as "a battalion in circle," means really, in Milton's fancy, a solid globe or sphere; for the Angels, by their nature, may cluster in globes, cubes, or other solid figures. See Introd. p. 29, and previous notes, I. 789-792, and II. 76, 77. See also *Par. Reg.*, IV. 581-2.

532. "*brigads*": so spelt, and accented on the first syllable, as at I. 675.

542—546. "*As when Alcides . . . the Euboic sea.*" Alcides is Hercules; and the allusions are to the legend of his death, as told by Ovid, *Metam.* ix.

577—581. "*Styx . . . Acheron . . . Cocytus . . . Phlegeton.*" Milton gives the etymologies of these names, which come from Greek verbs, meaning respectively "to hate," "to grieve," "to lament," and "to burn."——"*Lethe*," the "great river" (line 583), means "oblivion."

592, 593. "*that Serbonian bog betwixt Damiata and Mount Casius old.*" Damietta is a town in Egypt close to the easternmost mouth of the Nile; Mount Casius, now Cape Kareroon, is on the Egyptian coast farther to the east; the Serbonian bog is Lake Serbonis in that vicinity.

595. "*frore*": an old form for *froze* or *frozen*: German, *gefroren*.

638, 639. "*from Bengala, or the isles of Ternate and Tidore.*" Bengala is Bengal; Ternate and Tidore are two of the Moluccas.

641, 642. "*Through the wide Ethiopian*," *i.e.* through the Indian Ocean on its African side; "*to the Cape*," *i.e.* to the Cape of Good Hope; "*ply stemming nightly toward the Pole*," *i.e.* toward the South Pole, directed at night by the Southern Cross.

659—661. "*Far less abhorred than these vexed Scylla*," etc. By Circe's bewitchment, the nymph Scylla, when she bathed, was changed below the waist into hideous barking dogs. Having thrown herself into the sea between the Calabrian coast of Italy and Sicily (called *Trinacria*), she was changed into the famous rock or whirlpool.

662—666. "*the night-hag*," etc. Milton here passes to the Norse or Scandinavian mythology, in which Lapland is a great region of witchcraft.

678. "*God and his Son except*," etc. A curious construction, inasmuch as, taken exactly, it would include God and

his Son among "created things." But examples of this sort of construction are not uncommon.

692. "*the third part*," etc. See note, Book I. 632-3; and compare Rev. xii. 4.

709. "*Ophiuchus*," called also *Anguitenens* or *Serpentarius*, is a large constellation in the northern heaven. All the names mean "the serpent-bearer."

842. "*buxom air*": *i.e.* "flexible," "pliant," "easily bowed," the original meaning of *buxom*.

891—916. "*the hoary Deep, a dark illimitable ocean*," etc. Every part of this description of the Deep of Chaos, as seen upwards from Hell-gates, is minutely studied and considered. Altogether it would be difficult to quote a passage from any poet so rich in purposely accumulated perplexities, learned and poetical, or in which such care is taken, and so successfully, to compel the mind to a rackingly intense conception of sheer Inconceivability.

939. "*a boggy Syrtis.*" The Syrtes were two quicksands on the northern coast of Africa.

943—947. "*As when a gryphon . . . pursues the Arimaspian*," etc. The Arimaspians, in legend, were a one-eyed people of Scythia; who, in trying to get gold, had constant fights with creatures, called gryphons, partly eagle and partly lion, that guarded the mines.

964, 965. "*Orcus and Ades, and the dreaded name of Demogorgon.*" Orcus and Hades were two names for Pluto or his realm among the ancients. Demogorgon was a vague being, of tremendous occult powers of mischief, mysteriously hinted at in the classical poets, but first distinctly named, it is said, by the Christian writer Lactantius in the fourth century. He figures in Boccaccio and in Spenser (*Faery Queene*, I. v. 22, and IV. ii. 47).

977—987. "*or, if some other place, from your dominion won . . . mine the revenge.*" The exact meaning of this passage is worth attending to. Satan asks Chaos and Night to direct him the nearest way to Heaven; or, if (as he surmises) the new Universe of which he is in search has by this time been cut or scooped out of the upper part of Chaos immediately under Heaven, then to direct him the nearest way thither. As this new Universe is a space seized and subtracted from the ancient dominion of Chaos,—a bit of upper Chaos, so to speak, forcibly reclaimed by the Deity,

organised, and appended to Heaven,—Satan naturally appeals to the resentment of the Powers of Chaos, and promises them that, if they assist him, he will do his best to re-conquer the lost territory and reduce it back to Darkness.

1001—1006. "*Encroached on still . . . first Hell . . . now lately Heaven and Earth,*" etc. This is the first distinct intimation to Satan that the new Universe of Man had actually been created. He had guessed so before leaving Hell; but it was still only a guess in his speech to Chaos a few lines back (977-980). The Anarch, in his complaint of the encroachments on his dominion, makes the fact certain. First, he says, there had been the establishment of Hell at the bottom of Chaos; but since that there had been an excavation into Chaos at the top, above the point where he and Satan then stood, to form the Heaven and Earth of the Human World. See diagram in Introd. p. 33.

1017—1020. "*than when Argo*"—the ship in which Jason went to Colchis for the golden fleece,—"*passed through Bosporus,*" the straits into the Black Sea, "*betwixt the justling rocks,*" *i.e.* the Symplegades; "*or when Ulysses on the larboard shunned Charybdis,*" *i.e.* kept to the left of it, "*and by the other whirlpool steered,*" *i.e.* by Scylla.

1023—1028. "*But, he once passed . . . Sin and Death . . . paved after him a broad and beaten way,*" etc. The building of this bridge between Hell and the Human Universe is afterwards described at length (x. 235 *et seq.*).

1029, 1030. "*reaching the utmost Orb of this frail World*": *i.e. not* the outermost star or the star nearest Chaos, but the outermost boss or circle of the starry sphere as a whole.

1034—1042. "*But now at last the sacred influence of light appears,*" etc. Imagine Satan now nearing the external shell of the Human World, somewhere on its upper side (see diagram, Introd. p. 33), where he could be aware of the light from the Empyrean glimmering down into Chaos.

1048. "*undetermined square or round.*" Heaven, or the Empyrean, being really unbounded, cannot be said to have a figure, though the imagination tends rather to the spherical in diagram.

1051—1053. "*And, fast by,*" *i.e.* fast by the Empyrean, "*this pendent World,*" etc. On the absurd and disastrous mistake in the usual interpretation of this passage, see Introd. p. 35.

BOOK III.

1—55. Observe that this noble passage, besides being a pathetic lyric on Milton's own blindness, is also an apt introduction to the part of the Epic now reached. Hitherto the story has been down in Hell and Chaos; but now it rises into the abodes of Light, and the poet, delayed a moment by the novelty of the blaze, apostrophizes the new element.

7, 8. "*Or hear'st thou rather pure Ethereal stream,*" etc.: *i.e.* "Or dost thou prefer to be called the pure Ethereal stream," etc., this use of *hear* being a Latinism.

25, 26. "*drop serene . . . or dim suffusion*": two phrases from the medical science of Milton's day. *Gutta serena*, literally "drop serene," was that form of total blindness which left the eyes perfectly clear and without speck or blemish. Such was Milton's (see Sonnet XXII.).

35, 36. "*blind Thamyris and blind Mæonides, and Tiresias and Phineus.*" Thamyris or Thamyras was a mythical poet and musician of Thrace, mentioned by Homer; Mæonides is Homer himself, reputed the son of Mæon. Tiresias, the blind prophet of Thebes, is a great character in the legends and dramas of the Greeks; Phineus, a blind king and prophet, is made by some a Thracian, by others an Arcadian.

38, 39. "*the wakeful bird* [the nightingale] *sings darkling.*" In Shakespeare (*Lear*, I. iv.) we have—"So out went the candle, and we were left darkling."

84. "*interrupt*": the past participle passive (*interruptus*), "thrown ruggedly between."

168—170. "*O Son,*" etc. All the names for Christ here introduced are, as Bishop Newton points out, Scriptural: see Matt. iii. 17; John i. 18; Rev. xix. 13; 1 Cor. i. 24.

217. "*all the Heavenly Quire stood mute.*" It is noted here, by Bishop Newton, as more than a coincidence, that so the Fallen Angels had "sat mute" in Hell, when the mission was proposed which Satan alone undertook (see Book II. 417 *et seq.*).

247—265. "*Thou wilt not,*" etc. Various Scriptural texts are embodied in this passage,—such as Psalm xvi. 10, Acts ii. 20, 1 Cor. xv. 55, Psalm lxviii. 18, Coloss. ii. 15, 1 Cor. xv. 26.

317—343. "*All power I give thee,*" etc. Another metrical coagulation of Scriptural texts. See Matt. xxviii. 18; Eph. i. 20; Phil. ii. 9; 1 Thess. iv. 16; Matt. xxiv. 30, 31; Rev. xx. 11; 1 Cor. xv. 51; 2 Pet. iii. 12, 13; Rev. xxi. 1; 1 Cor. xv. 24-28; Psalm xcvii. 7; John v. 23. It is worthy of remark that Milton, in these speeches of the Father and the Son, should have been thus careful to suppress his own invention absolutely, and to keep close to the words of the Bible. This speech is tinged with many texts besides those here cited.

353. "*Immortal amarant.*" Amarant, which in Greek means "unfading," is the name given by Pliny to a purple flower, real or imaginary, described as preserving its bloom long after being plucked.

362—364. "*Now in loose garlands . . . smiled.*" The construction seems to be, "The bright pavement that shone like a sea of jasper" (*i.e.* of different colours, with green predominant) "smiled impurpled with celestial roses" (the red among the forementioned flowers), "now thrown off thick in loose garlands."

372—415. "*Thee, Father,*" etc. These forty-four lines represent the choral hymn of the Angels, in honour first of the Father, and then of the Son. Among the texts of Scripture fused into the language the commentators have noted Isaiah vi. 2; Col. i. 15, 16; Rev. iv. 14; Heb. i. 3; John i. 9; Micah v. 15.

383. "*Thee next they sang.*" Here Milton uses what is now the ordinary conjugation of the verb—*sing, sang, sung.* But, in general, he makes *sung* the preterite tense, as well as the past participle; and there is an instance only eleven lines back (line 372), "*Thee, Father, first they sung.*"

413—415. "*my song . . . my harp,*" etc. These expressions suggest that, though the passage which they conclude (lines 372-415) may be read as Milton's report of a choral hymn of the Angels, Milton himself joins the chorus.

418—422. "*Meanwhile upon the firm opacous globe of this round World . . . Satan alighted walks.*" To understand this passage exactly, look first at the World or Cosmos as figured in the diagram in Introd. p. 33, and then at the enlarged representation of the same, with its interior filled up with the "luminous inferior Orbs," or Spheres of the pre-Copernican system, at p. 41. The "first convex," on

which Satan alights, is the outside shell of the whole World, resting or turning in Chaos. Fancy a globe of very opaque brown glass round a lamp, in a room otherwise dark, and a fly or moth drawn upwards to it by its dull glimmer and alighting upon it, and that will be a homely image of Satan's arrival upon the outside of the Cosmos.

427—429. "*Save on that side*," etc. The glimmering of light is greatest on the upper boss of the outside of the Cosmos, where it is nearest the Empyrean; and it was on this upper boss, it appears from the sequel, that Satan had alighted.

431—441. "*As when a vulture*," etc. Milton's figure for the motions of the Fiend on the outside of the Universe is far more poetical than that just suggested. It may be explained thus:—"As when a vulture, bred on Imaus (the Himalayas, or 'snowy mountains'), leaving the remoter regions of Asia, makes for the Ganges or the Hydaspes (the Jhelum, one of the tributaries of the Indus) in search of prey, but on its way alights on the barren plains of Sericana (a tract of south-eastern Thibet and south-western China, inhabited by a people called by ancient geographers 'the Seres,' from whom came 'Sericum' or Silk), so the Fiend, coming from Hell and Chaos, and seeking admission into the Starry Universe which contains his prey, is kept lingering a while on its bleak exterior." Of the "cany waggons of the Chineses," made of light bamboo with sails and driven by the wind, Milton had read accounts in books.

444—497. "*None yet; but store hereafter*," etc. These fifty-four lines are one of the most extraordinary passages of the poem.——Though the bleak, windy, outside shell of the Cosmos was totally uninhabited when Satan alighted upon it, that was not to be long the case. For precisely this outside shell of the whole Cosmos, and not the Moon, as some had fancied, was to be the true Limbo of Vanities or Paradise of Fools, to which all the nonsense and vain enthusiasms of the Earth and of Man would tend, and whither they would infallibly arrive. And how would they reach that comfortless dwelling-ground? In explaining this, Milton gives a sketch by anticipation of the constitution of the Cosmos, according to his fancy of the old Astronomical System, thus:—The only opening into the interior of the Cosmos, or outlet from it, is at its topmost point, where it

is hung from the Empyrean Heaven. There an orifice had been purposely left in its bounding shell. Now, as the Earth is at the centre of the Cosmos, whatever would reach the Empyrean Heaven from Earth must ascend straight to this polar orifice, passing through the ten enclosing Spheres in succession,—the seven Planetary Spheres, the Sphere of the Fixed Stars, that ninth or Crystalline Sphere "whose balance weighs the trepidation talked" (*i.e.* accounts for "the precession of the equinoxes"), and finally the Primum Mobile, or "first moved" and outmost Sphere, itself (see the very exact enumeration of the Spheres in lines 481-483, and the more detailed account of the old Cosmology in the Introd. pp. 37-43). By this way the Spirits of the Just do ascend to Heaven's gate and enter the Eternal Mansions. But it fares otherwise with vain and erring enthusiasts, puffed up with their own aspirations, and seeking to get to Heaven on false pretences. Such were the Giants before the Flood (Gen. vi. 1-4); such were the builders of the Tower of Babel (Gen. xi. 1-9); such was Empedocles, the philosopher of Sicily, who threw himself into the crater of Ætna, that people, finding no trace of his body, might think he had been taken up as a God, but whose iron sandal, flung up from the crater, told the true tale; such was Cleombrotus, the Ambracian youth who was so ravished by Plato's discourse on the immortality of the soul that he drowned himself to realise his dream of Elysium; such, finally, were mediæval Hermits, Pilgrims to the Holy Land, and Friars of all orders, Carmelite, Dominican, or Franciscan. All such vain pretenders may reach the orifice in the Primum Mobile, and even think they see St. Peter at Heaven's wicket, ready to admit them. But lo! at this point they find themselves seized by cross gusts of those winds of Chaos which blow round the Cosmos, and are whirled, right and left, they and all their trumpery, "over the backside of the World," into the Limbo prepared for them.——There are Limbos in other poets; but Milton's Limbo beats them all. A grim humour, or consciousness of the grotesque, runs through the conception.

498—539. "*All this . . . till at last a gleam . . . turned thitherward . . . his travelled steps,*" etc. Here we have further circumstantials of the polar orifice described in the preceding note. The gleam of light having attracted Satan to the orifice, he sees Heaven's gates, with stairs up to

them like those in Jacob's dream (Gen. xxviii. 10-19); also, underneath these stairs, the sea of jasper or pearl (a segment of the Crystalline Sphere, as appears from the "Argument" prefixed to the Book); also the passage or shaft from the orifice, past this sea, straight down to the Earth. This passage was then wider far than that afterwards communicating between Heaven and Sion's specially holy ground, or even than that which once covered the Promised Land from Paneas (Dan) to Beersheba, when the whole of that region received Angelic visitants.

555—563. "*Round he surveys,*" etc. This is the Fiend's first glimpse of the interior of the World he has come to ruin. From Heaven's stair he gazes down into the blue Universe with its rolling luminaries. He takes two glances, —one longitudinal, from the constellation Libra to the opposite point of the Celestial Equator, where Aries or the Ram seems to be bearing the constellation Andromeda westward; the other in the direction of latitude, or downwards from where he is standing, right through to the other pole. Almost in the act of the second glance he plunges in.

563—565. "*winds with ease through the pure marble air his oblique way amongst innumerable stars.*" Satan's first plunge was perpendicular. This perpendicular plunge has carried him right through the World's "first region," *i.e.* to within the Ninth or Crystalline sphere; but now that he has got to the Eighth sphere, or firmament of the fixed stars, he flies obliquely—*i.e.* keeps in the arc of that sphere—descending through the "marble" air (*i.e.* glistering air) towards the equator, but winding about among the stars, in case one of them should be his object. Though the Earth which he seeks is in the centre of the starry sphere, he does not yet know that.

571. "*above them all,*" *i.e.* "more than any of the rest."

574—576. ("*but up or down, by centre or eccentric, hard to tell, or longitude.*") It would be "up or down" according as he had descended past the Sun's place or was still above it when he made for it; "by centre" would be by spiral motion round the centre; "by eccentric," by spiral motion on one side of the centre; "by longitude," by motion east or west.

597. "*to the twelve that shone in Aaron's breast-plate.*" See Exod. xxviii. 17-20.

602, 605. "*they bind volatile Hermes*," *i.e.* solidify fluid mercury, "*and call up unbound in various shapes old Proteus*," etc. Proteus, in legend the sea-god whom it was all but impossible to fix in his native or real shape, so many disguises could he assume, stands here for the elementary matter or "prime substance" sought by the Alchemists.

607, 608. "*elixir pure . . . potable gold*": two dreams of the Alchemists, or rather one and the same; for "potable gold" was one imagined form of the *elixir vitæ* which would prolong life.

623. "*The same whom John saw.*" Rev. xix. 17.

627. "*fledge with wings*," *i.e.* feathered or plumed with wings. We now use the form *fledged*; but the adjective *fledge* is found in old writers. Milton repeats the word *Par. Lost*, VII. 420; and it occurs in his prose.

648—650. "*The Archangel Uriel, one of the seven*," etc. Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael are the pre-eminent Archangels of the Bible or of Hebrew tradition; Uriel ("God's Light") is mentioned as an Archangel in the 2d Book of Esdras; Abdiel, Ithuriel, Zophiel, Uzziel, Zephon, and other great Angels, are afterwards mentioned by Milton, but which of them were the other three Archangels is not suggested. Satan had been one of the Archangels, if not the supreme Archangel. See Book v. 659, 660.

716. "*this ethereal quintessence of Heaven*," *i.e.* Light, a fifth essence, purer than Earth, Water, Air, or Fire.

730. "*her countenance triform*," *i.e.* crescent, full, and waning.

733. "*That spot to which I point is Paradise.*" Paradise is to be conceived as a considerable tract, visible, where Uriel was, as a spot on the Earth's rotundity.

740. "*the ecliptic*": as then understood, the Sun's orbit round the Earth.

742. "*on Niphates' top he lights.*" Niphates, now Nimroud-Tagh, is a lofty mountain-range in Armenia, near the tract supposed to have been Paradise.

BOOK IV.

1—5. "*O for that warning voice*," etc. Rev. xii. 7-12.

32—41. "*O thou that*," etc. See Introd. p. 20.

39. "*above thy sphere*": the sphere of the Sun, the fourth of the Ptolemaic spheres.

126. "*the Assyrian mount.*" Niphates, in Armenia, here included in the general name Assyria.

132—171. "*Eden, where delicious Paradise,*" etc. Eden (meaning in Hebrew "Joy" or "Deliciousness") is the whole tract of Western Asia destined for primitive mankind; Paradise, now described (the word is Persian, meaning a Park or Pleasure-ground), is the Happy Garden in one part of this Eden (Gen. ii. 8).

153. "*landskip,*" spelt "lantskip" in the original edition. The word occurs four times in Milton's poetry—here, *P. L.* II. 491, V. 142, and *L'All.* 70—and always as *lantskip.*

159—165. "*As when to them who sail,*" etc. Mr. Keightley says that what is here fancied is an impossibility. "When a vessel going to India has passed Mozambique, the coast of Arabia is due north of her, and at an immense distance, with a portion of the east coast of Africa interposed." Saba was a town of Arabia Felix, here called "Araby the Blest."

168—171. "*Than Asmodeus with the fishy fume,*" etc. In the Book of Tobit the evil spirit Asmodeus, in love with a Jewess named Sara, living in the Median city of Ecbatana, destroys her husbands in succession, till at last, after her betrothal to Tobias, the son of Tobit, he is foiled. Instructed by the Archangel Raphael, Tobias burns the heart and liver of a fish; "the which smell when the Evil Spirit had smelled, he fled into the utmost parts of Egypt, and the Angel bound him."——"*with a vengeance sent*": an early instance of the use of this phrase in its present somewhat whimsical sense of "most emphatically."

194, 195. "*and on the Tree of Life, the middle tree,*" etc. See Gen. ii. 9, and Rev. ii. 7.

200, 201. "*what, well used, had been the pledge of immortality.*" The commentators have been puzzled by this passage. Satan being immortal already, they say, did not need the pledge of immortality that would have been given by eating of the Tree of Life; and the construction does not permit the "well-used" to be applied to Adam and Eve. Patrick Hume, the earliest commentator on *Paradise Lost* (1695), offered a peculiar solution of the difficulty. Adam, in the poem, certainly knows of the tree (see sequel, line

424); but, if Satan had known of it, then, Hume suggests, he might have made Adam and Eve eat of it after they had eaten of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, and so doubled his malice by making them immortal in their sin and misery. This is supersubtle, but there may be something in it. Milton may have meant that Satan sat like a cormorant on the Tree of Life, using it for the mean purpose of prospect only, and little aware of its mysterious virtue, and of the higher uses to which it might have been turned even by himself.

210—214. "*Eden stretched her line,*" etc. Milton here adopts the most orthodox hypothesis as to the site of Eden, placing it in Syria and Mesopotamia. He makes the limits in one direction to be from Auran on the west (Hauran, the Syrian district south of Damascus) to Seleucia on the east, *i.e.* to the capital of the Greek dynasty of the Seleucidæ, built on the Tigris about B.C. 300, near what is now Baghdad, in a region once called Telassar (Isaiah xxxvii. 12). The extent from west to east is about 450 miles: the boundaries north and south are not given. Paradise, according to Gen. ii. 8, is put in the east of Eden, *i.e.* in that part of the ancient Assyria where the Euphrates and the Tigris approach each other in flowing south.

223—246. "*Southward through Eden went a river large,*" etc. Much ingenuity has been spent in trying to identify the present river-system of the Syrian and Mesopotamian region with the Scriptural account of the rivers of Eden (Gen. ii. 10-14); but the difficulty of doing so has led many commentators to suppose an alteration of the river-system by the Deluge. Milton adheres to the Scriptural account, which speaks of one river watering the Garden and then dividing itself into four; but he adapts it to his purpose by making the head-stream pass underneath the hill of Paradise by a subterranean channel before dividing itself. He abstains from giving names here; but, as he afterwards distinctly names the head-stream the Tigris (IX. 71), the four divided streams must be, as in Scripture, the Pison, the Gihon, the Hiddekel (or Tigris continued), and the Euphrates.

268—284. "*Not that fair field,*" etc. The geographical and mythological allusions are somewhat complex.——Enna, where Proserpine, the daughter of Ceres, was carried off by Dis or Pluto, was in the heart of Sicily.——The famous

Castalian spring of the Greeks was a stream of Mount Parnassus; but the one here meant was a spring which had borrowed the name, near Apollo's sacred grove of Daphne in Syria, not far from Antioch, where the Orontes flows into the Mediterranean.——The Nysa or "Nyseian isle" of the passage is perhaps an island in the lake Tritonis, about the middle of the northern coast of Africa, where the river Triton flows from the lake. Here, according to the account adopted by Milton (though other accounts make it at Nysa in Ethiopia), the infant Bacchus was educated. That god is generally made the son of Jupiter and the nymph Semele; Milton prefers making him the son of the Libyan Jupiter and the nymph Amalthea. In the common legend Bacchus is brought up secretly at Nysa to avoid the wrath of Juno; here it is to avoid the wrath of Rhea, Saturn's wife and Jupiter's stepmother.——Amara or Amhara is a tract of high table-land in the middle of Abyssinia, where the Blue Nile has its head, and where in the old maps the Nile as a whole is made to rise. Being about half way between the Tropic of Cancer and the Equator, it may be said to be "under the Ethiop line." Here was the delightful mountain Amara, "a day's journey high," with its gardens and palaces, where, according to the tradition hinted at in the passage (used afterwards by Dr. Johnson in his *Rasselas*), the sons of the Abyssinian emperors were educated in strict seclusion. Some thought Amara to have been the original Paradise.

323, 324. "*Adam the goodliest man*," etc. These two lines have been pointed out as containing a kind of double bull in language,—making Adam the goodliest of Adam's sons, and Eve the fairest of Eve's daughters. But in Greek and Latin such a construction was not uncommon.

408—410. "*when Adam, first of men . . ., turned him*," etc. The construction is "when Adam, thus moving speech to Eve, turned him—*i.e.* the Fiend—all ear," etc.

449, 450. "*That day I oft remember*," etc. It is surely implied here that, in Milton's imagination, Adam and Eve had already been together in Paradise for some considerable time. Yet this is in apparent inconsistency with the thread of time given in the action of the poem. The Earth, with the Mundane Universe round it, had been created in six of those nine days during which the Rebel Angels had been

lying in stupor in Hell, and Milton has already stipulated (I. 50-53) that those nine days were literal days, according to human measure. It can even be fixed by the sequel (VIII. 228-246) that it was on the sixth day or Friday of the creative Week, the very day on which Man was made, that the Rebel Angels were roused from their stupor, and that it was on the following day,—that Sabbath (Saturday) of Rest after the Creation which was spent in halleluiahs of joy among the Heavenly host of the faithful (VII. 551-634),—that the Rebel Angels, in hideously contrasted occupation, held their council down in Hell and adopted Satan's plan for the ruin of the newly-made Universe. Now, all that had happened since then in the action of the poem had been Satan's journey upwards through Chaos in quest of the new Universe, his discovery of it, his entrance into it, his arrival on the Earth near Eden, and his invasion of Paradise. Toilsome as the journey was, and with various interrupting incidents, one imagines, as one reads, that a day, or at most one or two days, sufficed for it. If so, at the date of the present speech of Eve to Adam, to which the Fiend is listening, Adam and Eve were but two or three days old. Yet in the phrase "*That day I oft remember when from sleep I first awaked,*" etc., and also in other phrases and allusions in the poem, the day of the creation of Adam and Eve seems already some considerable way back in the past. As Milton must have been perfectly aware of the apparent inconsistency, I can only suppose that he adopted imaginatively two measures or rates of time in his poem—a transcendental rate generally for events in Heaven, Chaos, and Hell; and a human rate for events within the Mundane Universe—sometimes (as in the account of the creative Week) harmonizing them, but sometimes (as in the account of Satan's upward journey through Chaos) disconnecting them.

486. "*individual,*" *i.e.* not to be divided, inseparable (Latin *individuus*). Compare *Par. Lost*, V. 610, and *On Time*, 12; also *Par. Lost*, VII. 382 and XII. 85.

492. "*unreproved,*" *i.e.* not to be reproved, blameless. Used once besides in the same sense (*L'All.* 40).

539. "*in utmost longitude,*" *i.e.* in the extreme west.

542, 543. "*Against the eastern gate of Paradise,*" etc. Mr. Keightley thinks this a slip. The setting sun could not level his rays direct against the *eastern* gate of Paradise,

unless, indeed, it were against the *inside* of that gate. Milton may have meant this.

556. "*On a sunbeam, swift as a shooting star.*" One of the many lines in which Milton, by a beautiful fitness of metre and of component letters, makes the sound suggest the sense. Compare *Comus*, 80.

590, 591. "*whose point now raised bore him*," etc. While Uriel and Gabriel have been conversing, the Sun has fallen to the horizon, so that the sunbeam on which Uriel returned inclines *from* Paradise to the Sun.

592—597. "*whether the Prime Orb*," etc. A very interesting passage, as showing that, though Milton has adopted the Ptolemaic cosmology in his poem, he was quite well aware of the Copernican alternative, and perhaps appreciated its superior scientific worth. See Introd. pp. 40-41. The Prime Orb is the Primum Mobile, or Tenth and outmost sphere, of the Ptolemaists.

605. "*Hesperus*": the Evening Star.

628. "*manuring*": in the old sense of "tending with the hand" (*manœuvring*), "cultivating."

639, 640. "*I forget all time, all seasons, and their change.*" Another passage implying that Adam and Eve had been for some time on the Earth. See previous note, 449, 450.

642. "*charm*," *i.e.* song (Lat. *carmen*).

680—688. "*How often*," etc. Another passage of the same import as lines 449, 450, and 639, 640. For the ideas commentators compare Shakespeare's *Tempest*, iii. 2.

716, 717. "*The unwiser son of Japhet*," etc., *i.e.* Epimetheus, the brother of Prometheus, both being sons of the Titan Iapetus. In revenge for the theft of the heavenly fire by the wise Prometheus, Jupiter created the first woman, Pandora ("the All-gifted"), and sent her to the Earth, under the conduct of Hermes or Mercury, with her box of evils, to be presented to the man she married. Prometheus avoided her; but Epimetheus was captivated, and the evils flew out among mankind from the opened box.

744—762. "*Whatever hypocrites austerely talk*," etc. Milton refers to Scriptural texts: Gen. i. 28; 1 Cor. vii. 28 and 36; 1 Tim. iv. 1-3; Heb. xiv. 4; etc.

776, 777. "*Now had Night measured*," etc. Prosaically, it was about nine o'clock in the evening; but the clock here is that vast astronomical clock of which the great circle of

the starry heavens is the dial-plate and the Earth's shadow the moving hour-hand. Night really is the shadow of the Earth shot like a cone of gloom into the part of space opposite to the Sun; and the shadow moves round the great circle with the Sun.

778-779. "*And from their ivory port the Cherubim forth issuing, at the accustomed hour*," etc. This means that, at nine o'clock, with military precision, those Angels or Cherubim who, under the command of Gabriel, were entrusted with the guard of Paradise (see lines 550-554), issued *not* out at the eastern gate of Paradise, so as to be beyond the walls, but only from one of the inner ports of that gate into a space *within* the walls, ready for the duties of the night-watch. They stand at arms, as in a courtyard, to receive Gabriel's orders.

782—785. "*Uzziel, half these draw off*," etc. Here again, with the due poetic haze of expression, we have military accuracy and even military phraseology. Gabriel breaks his company of Angels into two divisions by the order "Right and left wheel" (the Latin equivalent for which was "Wheel to the spear: Wheel to the shield," the right hand of course being the spear hand, and the left holding the shield): he takes command of one of the divisions himself to march it round the north side of Paradise; he gives the other in charge to his lieutenant Uzziel (Strength of God), to be marched round the south side; the two divisions, having thus made the entire circuit of Paradise between them, are to meet at the western end, opposite to that eastern gate from which they now start; and meanwhile the two scouts, Ithuriel (Search of God) and Zephon (Searcher), are to go through the Garden, exploring it.

797. "*So saying, on he led his radiant files.*" "File-marching" is marching two and two in a long string or column.

813. "*Of force to its own likeness.*" One of the only three instances of the use of the word *its* in Milton's poetry. See Essay on Milton's English, pp. 174-186.

847—849. "*saw Virtue in her shape*," etc. Almost a literal translation, as the commentator Hume pointed out, of *Persius* iii. 35-38.

861—864. "*Now drew they nigh the western point*," etc. Again military precision. The two subdivisions of Angels

have met at the western end of Paradise as appointed, and there completed their junction into a single company again by the act known as "*closing*," *i.e.* side-motion by quick short steps, so as to do away with the little gap left between the two subdivisions when halted.

972. "*Proud limitary Cherub.*" In Latin "*milites limitanei*" are soldiers in garrison on a frontier for the purpose of guarding it; and it is suggested that Milton formed the word "limitary" in this sense.

980. "*With ported spears.*" Another military phrase, knowledge of the exact meaning of which is absolutely necessary for an appreciation of the beauty of the whole passage. *Ported spears* are not, as the commentators have supposed, spears thrust straight out against an enemy. To "port arms," whether spears or bayonets, is to hold them aslant, butts downward to the right, and points over the left shoulder; and this is the position preparatory to the attack or "charge," which consists in bringing the weapon smartly down, with a half-wheel of the body, for firm opposition to whatever is in front of it. A body of men with spears well "ported" *would* present a resemblance to a field of corn-stalks blown aslant by the wind; but the image is utterly absurd on the other fancy that the "ported spears" of the Angels were their spears thrust straight out at Satan.

985. "*alarmed,*" *i.e.* "on his guard": fear is not implied.

987. "*unremoved*": incapable of being removed. See note, IV. 492.

988, 989. "*on his crest sat Horror plumed.*" A personification terrible in its very vagueness. The poet, imagining Satan, sees as it were the plumed crest of his helmet, but gives only this visionary metaphor of it.

996, 997. "*Hung forth in Heaven his golden scales,*" etc. Milton, as Hume noted, must here have had in view the passage in Homer (*Iliad*, viii. 69) where Jupiter weighs the issues of uncertain events in golden scales, and that in Virgil (*Æneid*, xii. 725) where there is a similar image. But Milton makes the balance the actual constellation Libra, and in other respects he makes the image entirely his own.

1003. "*The sequel each of parting and of fight,*" *i.e.* one weight represented the *consequence* of not fighting, the other of fighting. The balance turning decidedly to the former, Satan drew the inference, and acted accordingly (1013-1015).

BOOK V.

3—5. "*his sleep was aery light, from pure digestion bred, and temperate vapours bland, which,*" etc. Newton and subsequent commentators make "*sleep*" the antecedent of "*which*"; but it seems more natural, and more consistent with the subsequent image, to take "*temperate vapours bland*" as the antecedent.

44. "*Heaven wakes with all his eyes.*" Milton generally uses the feminine possessive form *her* along with Heaven. In the present instance, however, there is a fitness in the masculine form,—if it be the masculine by personification, and not simply the old neuter *his*. The eyes of Heaven wake to behold Eve; to have said "*her* eyes," therefore, would not have been in keeping.

100—113. "*But know that in the soul are many lesser faculties,*" etc. This passage is interesting as a little summary of Milton's psychology.——*Fancy*, *Phantasy*, and *Imagination* were synonymous, or nearly so, in Milton's time.

166, 167. "*Fairest of Stars,*" etc., *i.e.* the planet Venus; which is sometimes Phosphorus or the Morning Star, and sometimes Hesperus or the Evening Star.

176. "*fixed in their orb that flies,*" *i.e.* in the eighth of the Ptolemaic orbs or spheres.

177. "*five other wandering Fires.*" As Venus, the Sun, and the Moon, have already been invoked, there remain properly to be invoked only *four* of the seven wandering Fires or Planets of the old system,—Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. Milton had made a slip, or he means to reintroduce Venus.

178. "*not without song*": the Music of the Spheres.

181. "*in quaternion*": in fourfold combination, as Earth, Water, Air, Fire.

202—204. "*Witness if I be silent,*" etc. In the Greek choruses, though many are singing, the singular pronoun is often used.

220—223. "*Raphael, the sociable Spirit, that deigned to travel with Tobias,*" etc. See note, IV. 168-171. *Raphael* in Hebrew means "God's Health."

261, 262. "*the glass of Galileo.*" The second mention of Galileo in the poem (see I. 288), and the third of the telescope (I. 288 and III. 590).

264—266. "*Or pilot from amidst the Cyclades Delos or Samos first appearing kens,*" etc. The construction may either be "or pilot kens Delos or Samos first appearing from amidst the Cyclades," or it may be "or pilot, coming from amidst the Cyclades, kens Delos or Samos first appearing." In either case, as Mr. Keightley has pointed out, the geography is not strictly accurate. Samos is *not* one of the Cyclades—which vitiates the first construction; Delos *is* one of the Cyclades—which vitiates the second. Milton probably intended the first construction, with an extended meaning of the term Cyclades.

272—274. "*A phœnix,*" etc. The phœnix, the fabulous Arabian bird of the ancients, of which only one was alive at a time, was said to go from Arabia, every 500 years, to deposit the ashes of the preceding phœnix, its father, (or, according to another legend, its own ashes) in the Temple of the Sun at Heliopolis in Lower Egypt. Milton substitutes Thebes in Upper Egypt.

277—285. "*Six wings he wore,*" etc. See Isaiah vi. 2.

285. "*Sky-tinctured grain,*" *i.e.* of a cerulean or violet purple, as if dipped in the colours of the sky. *Grain*, now generally meaning "texture," "fibre," "structure" (*e.g.* wood of a hard or close "grain"), more frequently in the old poets meant "colour,"—nay, one variety of colour. *Granum*, in Latin "seed" (as in a "grain" of corn, or "grain" collectively for corn), had come to be a special designation for the red dye *coccum*, consisting of the granular or seed-like dried bodies of certain insects collected from trees in Spain and other Mediterranean countries. It was also called *kermes*, from a Persian word meaning "worm" or "insect"; whence our words *carmine* and *crimson*. From distinct "red" or "crimson," however, the word *grain* seems to have been extended to include all fast or durable colours of a red or purple order, if not other colours. Compare *Il Pens.* 33 and *P. L.* XI. 240-244; and see a detailed and interesting inquiry on the subject in Marsh's Lectures on the English Language, First Series. *Grain*, however, though used in our older English writers for "colour," or for "purple or

red colour," was certainly also used by them sometimes in our present sense of "texture"; which is natural enough, inasmuch as "*granum*" had the sense of "small round particle" primitively and generally.

285. "*Like Maia's son he stood,*" *i.e.* like the god Mercury. Compare a passage in *Hamlet*, iii. 4.

321, 322. "*Adam, Earth's hallowed mould, of God inspired*": Gen. ii. 7. The name *Adam* implies derivation from the earth.

339—341. "*or middle shore in Pontus or the Punic shore, or where Alcinous reigned,*" *i.e.* "or any of the Mediterranean regions, whether those of Western Asia (represented by Pontus in Asia Minor), or those of Northern Africa (represented by the Punic or Carthaginian coast), or those of southern Europe (represented by Phæacia, afterwards Corcyra or Corfu, where Alcinous had his gardens)."

341, 342. "*fruit of all kinds, in coat rough, or smooth rined, or bearded husk, or shell.*" The reading in most of the editions is "*rind,*" and the construction "fruit of all kinds, in rough coat, or smooth rind, or bearded husk, or shell." But in the First, Second, and Third Editions the lines stand thus:—

"fruit of all kindes, in coate,
Rough, or smooth rin'd, or bearded husk, or shell."

From the spelling "*rin'd*" here it appears that Milton intended the word for an adjective "*rined,*" equivalent to "*rinded*"; and Mr. Keightley quotes from Spenser the expression "the grey moss marred his rine," containing the substantive "rine" from which such an adjective might be formed. It is probable that Milton meant the construction to be "fruit of all kinds,—in coat, whether rough coat or coat smooth-rined, or in bearded husk," etc.

349. "*odours from the shrub unfumed*" means either "odours unfumed (*i.e.* not yet exhaled) from the shrub," or "odours from the unfumed (*i.e.* unburnt or natural) shrub." Mr. Browne notes: "Fire was unknown in Paradise (IX. 392), at least till after the Fall (X. 1073)."

351—353. "*without more train accompanied than with his own complete perfections.*" A curious license of syntax, which provoked from Bentley this note: "*Without more than with* is a solecism. It should be *without more than his,*

etc., *with* being expunged." As the verse does not permit this, Bentley supposed that Milton dictated *with no more train than with.* The liberties and flexibilities of seventeenth century English were unknown in Bentley's grammar.

382. "*three that in Mount Ida,*" etc. Aphrodite or Venus, Here or Juno, and Athene or Minerva, when Paris had to decide which was the most beautiful.

415—426. "*Of Elements the grosser feeds the purer,*" etc. In these few lines there is a sketch of Milton's Physics or Physiology.

447. "*the Sons of God.*" See Genesis vi. 2.

469—490. "*O Adam,*" etc. Here we have a sketch, from the Archangel's mouth, of Milton's Metaphysical or rather Physico-Metaphysical system. Some have found in it a sort of Materialism, inasmuch as it makes "body up to spirit work," or represents the inorganic as ascending by gradations, "improved by tract of time," but by strict self-discipline as well, into the vegetable, the animal, the intellectual or human, and finally the Angelic. If this is to be called Materialism, however, the materialistic principle is confined by Milton within the bounds of what may be called "creation," and for this "creation" there is asserted an absolute cause and origin in an Eternal self-existing Spirit or Deity. Milton's Materialism is thus very different from the ordinary Materialism, and much more sublime. In fact, in this passage he gives a vague hint of that *Pantheism*, or *Pantheistic Materialism*, which he has expressed more articulately in his Latin treatise *Of Christian Doctrine.* He there contends that all creation, inanimate and animate,—brutes, men, and Angels included,—consists but of diverse forms or degrees of one and the same original or prime *matter;* which *matter* was originally an efflux or emanation out of the very substance of the One Eternal Spirit (see Memoir, pp. lxvii-lxviii.). The present passage, while only hinting that doctrine, as in the phrase "*one first matter all,*" is more precise than the treatise, however, in expressing the subordinate doctrine of an *evolution* from lower to higher as possible among the present diverse formations, inorganic and living, of the one aboriginal cosmical matter.

488. "*Discursive or Intuitive*": an old distinction with psychologists. Discursive Reason, or Understanding, they say, is that which arrives at knowledge gradually by searching,

comparing, distinguishing, etc.; Intuitive Reason is immediate insight, or perception of what *must* be true necessarily.

509. "*the scale of Nature set*," etc.: *i.e.* "planted that ladder (*scala*, a ladder), or fixed that gradation, of Nature, from its centre to its circumference, on which," etc.

546—548. "*than when Cherubic songs*," etc. See note, IV. 680-688, with references there.

557. "*Worthy of sacred silence to be heard.*" Literally, as Richardson noted, from Horace, *Od.* II. xiii. 29.

576. "*more than on Earth is thought.*" In these words and in the passage in which they appear, "*what if Earth*," etc., one rather sees Milton himself speaking to his contemporaries than Raphael speaking at a time when there were only two human beings on the Earth to have opinions.

577. "*As yet this World was not*," etc. At this point we have the true chronological beginning of the whole poem; and from this point to the end of Book VIII. is mainly a retrospective history, in colloquy between Raphael and Adam, of events prior to the action of the poem itself as related hitherto.

579—583. "*on a day . . . on such day as Heaven's great year brings forth.*" Here, at the outset, Milton's, or Raphael's, plan of narrating the events of the eternal or transcendental world so as to make them analogically conceivable by the human mind involves him in a daring image, with a perplexing theological consequence. Heaven has its "great year,"—perhaps that "great year of the Heavens," imagined by Plato, which is measured by one complete revolution of all the spheres, so that all are brought back to the exact condition of mutual arrangement from which they set out, and are ready to begin a new repetition of their vast courses. Well, on a day such as this great year brings forth, —the first day of one such enormous Heavenly revolution,— there was an assembling of the Heavenly hierarchies, by summons, to hear a grand new announcement of the will of the Infinite Father. It was that on that day had been begotten the only Son, and that he was constituted and anointed Head and Lord over all things. Now, as the Angelic hosts were assembled to hear this decree, they had indefinitely pre-existed the day so splendidly marked, and it came as a kind of interruption or new epoch in their existence. This seems farther hinted in a subsequent speech of Satan (lines

853-863), where it is implied that, in Satan's view at least, the Angels had come into being at the beginning of a *previous* great year or natural cycle of the Heavens. Now, though Milton was an Arian, as is proved by his *Treatise of Christian Doctrine*, yet his Arianism, as avowed in that treatise, was of the kind called High Arianism, which would not have been content with imagining the ascendancy of the Son as subsequent to the creation of the Angels. According to Bishop Sumner's summary of the portion of the treatise referring to this subject, Milton asserted that "the Son of God existed in the beginning and was the first of the whole creation," and that "by his delegated power all things were made in heaven and in earth." There might seem to be an inconsistency between this and what is suggested in the present passage. But see the speech of Abdiel (lines 835-840), where the seeming inconsistency is provided for by the assertion that, although the Son had been begotten on that day of the assembling of the Angels, yet by Him originally had all things, including the Angels themselves, been made. It seems unavoidable to suppose that Milton drew a distinction between the essential existence and power of the Divine Logos and "his being begotten as the Son," dating the first as from the beginning, or at least from before all Creation and all Angels, but placing the last within the limits of created time and of the angelic history, and so denying what theologians call "the Eternal Sonship."

589. "*gonfalons.*" A *gonfalon*, as distinct from an ordinary standard, was a flag at the end of a lance.

601.] "*Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers.*" A gradation of rank seems implied, as if the "throned Angels" were highest, next those with "dominations," and so on. The enumeration is common in poems and prose-writings about the Angels.

602—609. The texts here coagulated are Psalm ii. 67, cx. 1; Eph. iv. 15; Genesis xxii. 16; Isaiah xlv. 23; Philipp. ii. 10, 11; Heb. i. 5.

625—627. "*And in their motions harmony divine,*" etc. The Pythagorean notion of "the music of the spheres," or an actual music produced by, or regulating, the motions of the heavenly orbs, was a favourite one with Milton, and often recurs in his writings.

636—641. "*On flowers reposed . . . rejoicing in their joy.*"

Instead of these six lines, which appear thus in the Second Edition, the First Edition has only these three:

> "They eat, they drink, and with refection sweet
> Are fill'd, before th' all bounteous King, who showrd
> With copious hand, rejoycing in their joy."

658—661. "*Satan—so call him now*," etc. See Book I. 361-375.

671. "*his next subordinate*," *i.e.* Beelzebub.

689. "*the quarters of the North*." The poetico-theological tradition that the north parts of Heaven were the seat of the Angelic rebellion seems to have been founded on Isaiah xiv. 12, 13.

710. "*the third part of Heaven's host*." Rev. xii. 3, 4.

753, 754. "*from one entire globose stretched into longitude*," *i.e.* conceived as extended or rolled out from its globose form into a plane continuous in one direction, like that of longitude in the maps.

766. "*the Mountain of the Congregation called*." Isaiah xiv. 13.

805. "*Abdiel*." The name means "Servant of God."

809. "*blasphemous*": to be pronounced "blasphémous."

BOOK VI.

19. "*war in procinct*," *i.e.* in readiness. A Roman army, ready for battle, was said *stare in procinctu* (from *procingere*, "to gird tight in front"), the soldiers having then their garments girt tight round them.

29—43. "*Servant of God*," etc. This is the meaning of the name Abdiel. In the speech to Abdiel there is a recollection of Matt. xxv. 21, 1 Tim. vi. 12, Ps. lxii. 7, 2 Tim. ii. 15.

44, 45. "*Go, Michael*," etc. Rev. xii. 7, 8.

49. "*Equal in number*," etc. As the rebel Angels were one-third of the Heavenly Host, this implies that half of the remainder only were detached to meet them.

62. "*in mighty quadrate*": in cubic mass. See note, II. 512.

84. "*argument*," *i.e.* "carved or painted design"; in which sense Milton uses the Latin word "argumentum" in his *Epitaphium Damonis*, 185.

147. "*my Sect.*" In this phrase, and throughout the passage, Milton has a secondary reference to his own position in England at the time when the poem was written.

170. "*both their deeds*": an unusual construction, for the deeds of both of them (*i.e.* of "servility" or the loyal angels, and "freedom" or the rebel Angels).

222. "*These elements,*" *i.e.* the elements of the terrestrial world amid which Raphael was speaking to Adam.

239. "*moment,*" *i.e.* impelling force, *momentum.*

332. "*nectarous humour,*" *i.e.* the *ichor* of the Gods, as in Homer, *Iliad*, v. 340, which Milton must have had in mind.

365—372. "*Adramelech*" ("Splendid King") is from 2 Kings xvii. 31. "*Asmadai*" is the evil spirit Asmodeus: see note, IV. 168-171. "*Ariel*" ("Lion of God") is suggested by Ezra viii. 16, and Isaiah xxix. 1; "*Arioch*" ("Lion-likè") by Dan. ii. 14, where it is the name of a man. "*Ramiel*" does not occur in Scripture.

399. "*in cubic phalanx*": see above, line 62.

441, 442. "*Or equal . . . in nature none.*" The meaning is "Or equal that, whatever it was, which made the odds between us, an odds not existing so far as our constitution is concerned."

447. "*Nisroch*" (perhaps "Great Eagle") is from 2 Kings xix. 37.

470—491. "*Not uninvented,*" etc. In this passage, ascribing the invention of gunpowder and artillery to Satan, Milton but follows Ariosto, Spenser, and preceding poets.

496. "*cheer*": aspect, countenance: from old Fr. *chière*, Ital. *cera*, face or countenance.

520. "*pernicious,*" *i.e.* destructively sensitive.

532. "*In motion or in halt.*" I have not seen it noticed that in the original text the word is not "*halt*" but "*alt,*" and that this spelling "*alt*" remains in the Second and Third Editions.

535. "*Zophiel*" ("Spy of God") is perhaps a name of Milton's invention.

552. "*in hollow cube.*" See above, lines 62 and 399.

558—567. "*Vanguard,*" etc. Observe the irony of the speech and the string of puns in it.

572—578. "*A triple-mounted row,*" etc. It has been suggested that this must mean that there were three rows of cannon, one behind the other. But the poet seems clearly

to imagine the rows one over another vertically, as they might be in a ship's side, and such an arrangement of the cannon is consistent with the notion of the rebel host as forming a hollow cube.

578. "*Portending hollow truce.*" Even Raphael puns.

595—599. "*Unarmed, they might,*" etc. Here we seem to have an afterthought of Milton, correcting his prevalent notion of the dilatability or contractibility of the spirits at will (see notes, I. 419 and 789). Remembering this notion, and yet resolved to keep his representation of the effect of the cannon on the Angelic host, he resorts to the imagination that the arms of the Angels, not being of the Angelic substance, but of more ordinary matter, hung about them and impeded the exercise of their elasticity. This is one of the shifts to which Milton is driven by the nature of his subject, and is perhaps hardly consistent with other passages in the poem.

609—619. "*O friends,*" etc. Irony and punning continued.

621—627. "*Leader,*" etc. Belial's puns in this speech outdo Satan's.

656—661. "*Their armour helped their harm,*" etc. See note to lines 595-599. There is an advance in this passage on the supposition made in the other. In the case of the *rebel* Angels not only does the armour impede the exercise of the spiritual elasticity, but, crushed in upon the bodies of the Spirits, it causes pain. This difference of the rebel from the loyal Angels is accounted for by the deterioration of the being of the former caused by their sin.—Observe the jingle *armour* and *harm.*

664—667. "*So hills . . . infernal noise.*" The meaning is "Hills encountered hills amid the air so (to such an extent) that the Angels were actually fighting *underground*, in a darkness that was dismal and a noise that might properly be called *infernal*, as being roofed over by the flying masses of earth."

673. "*Consulting on the sum of things.*" See *Naturam non pati Senium*, lines 33, 34.

681, 682. "*in whose face invisible is beheld visibly, what by Deity I am,*" *i.e.* "in whose face a thing in its own nature invisible—to wit, what by my Deity I am—is beheld visibly."

685. "*as we compute the days of Heaven.*" See note, IV. 449, 450.

698. "*the main,*" *i.e.* the total Universe, of which Heaven is the half.

723—745. "*O Father, O Supreme,*" etc. Among the texts involved in this speech are John xvii. 4, 5; Matthew xvii. 5; 1 Cor. xv. 28; John xvii. 21; Psalm cxxxix. 21; 2 Peter ii. 4; Isaiah lxvi. 24; Mark ix. 44.

750—759. "*The chariot of Paternal Deity,*" etc. The description is from the first chapter of Ezekiel.

761. "*radiant Urim.*" Exod. xxviii. 15-30. *Urim* means "lights" or "flashing jewels."

769, 770. "*And twenty thousand (I their number heard) chariots of God.*" Psalm lxviii. 17.

862—866. "*The monstrous sight . . . bottomless pit.*" The rebel Angels, it is to be noted, do not *fall* from Heaven in our sense of "fell." They were not subject to gravitation, and there was no proper element towards which they could gravitate. The passage recollects this, and makes the Angels "*urged*" or *driven* from Heaven.

863. "*Strook.*" See note, *Od. Nat.* 95.

871. "*Nine days they fell*": so the Titans from Heaven in the Greek legends. See note, I. 50-53.

893. "*Thus, measuring things in Heaven by things on Earth.*" See V. 563-576.

BOOK VII.

1—2. "*Urania,*" etc. Urania is the "Heavenly Muse" invoked in the beginning of the poem (I. 6); but, as it is the name of one of the Greek Muses, Milton guards himself.

17—20. "*as once Bellerophon,*" etc. Bellerophon, falling from his winged horse Pegasus in his attempt to reach Heaven, wandered all the rest of his life in the Aleian fields: viz. "the Fields of Error."

23. "*the pole,*" *i.e.* that topmost point of the Astronomical Universe where, according to Milton's cosmology in the poem, it hangs from the eternal and unimaginable Heaven in which most of the history has as yet been laid.

32—38. "*But drive far off,*" etc. An evident allusion to the dissolute courtiers of Charles II., from whom he might expect a fate not unlike that of Orpheus, the son of the

muse Calliope. Orpheus was torn to pieces by the Bacchanalians in Rhodope, a mountain of Thrace, where his song had charmed the woods and rocks.—Milton recollects here lines 549, 550 of his *Comus*.

39. "*thou art heavenly, she an empty dream.*" "Thou" is Urania, Milton's muse; "she" is Calliope.

104. "*unapparent Deep,*" *i.e.* Chaos, surrounding the Natural Universe, but not visible from it.

131—135. "*Lucifer,*" etc. Lucifer, meaning "Light-bringer" (in Greek "Phosphorus"), was the name of the morning star. The name is applied to the King of Babylon in Isaiah xiv. 12. The application of it to Satan is said to date from St. Jerome.

168, 169. "*Boundless the Deep . . . nor vacuous.*" The meaning is, "Chaos is boundless because I am boundless who fill infinitude; nor is Chaos empty of my presence, though I, in a manner, hold myself retired from it and inhabit more peculiarly Heaven."

192. "*So sang.*" Observe the poet's preference, on musical grounds, here for the preterite form "*sang,*" instead of "*sung,*" which he generally uses, and has used immediately before, line 182.

201. "*between two brazen mountains lodged.*" Zech. vi. 1.

225—231. "*the golden compasses,*" etc. Prov. viii. 27.

232. "*Thus God,*" etc. From this point onwards Milton keeps closely in view the Mosaic account in Genesis.

239—242. "*then founded, then conglobed . . . centre hung.*" The space of the new Universe having been cleared of its cold and tartareous dregs, the poet meant to describe what was done with *the rest—i.e.* with all that remained within the vast sphere that had been cut out of Chaos and consecrated for the new purpose. Suppose, then, the construction to be this: "Downward purged the black, tartareous, cold, infernal dregs, adverse of life; then disparted the rest,—like things having been founded and conglobed to like,—to several place," etc. Compare with the whole passage the similar description Book III. 709-719.

242. "*Earth, self-balanced, on her centre hung.*" "Hung" is here the active verb: "hung Earth, self-balanced, on her centre."

243, 244. "*Light, ethereal, first of things,*" etc. See III. 716, with note; also the first lines of Book III. Light is

not so much *created* in this passage as *invoked* into the portion of Chaos which was to contain the creation.

245—249. "*Sprung from the Deep,*" etc. One would have imagined rather the *gushing down* of Light from Heaven into the new Universe; but there are reasons why Milton rather makes Light come in, as it were, at one *side* of the new Universe, springing from the Deep at that side, and slowly traversing, like a radiant cloud, the space till now in gloom.

261—275. "*Let there be firmament,*" etc. Gen. i. 6. The word "firmament" has been variously interpreted. Milton understands by it the whole expanse of ether or transparent space between the Earth and the Tenth Sphere or Primum Mobile; and he supposes the creative work of the second day to have been the establishing of this firmament so as to separate the previously diffused waters or watery particles of the chaotic stuff into two aggregations,—those clinging to the Earth and flowing round it, and those removed to near the circumference of the Universe and forming there the Ninth or Crystalline Sphere.

274. "*Heaven he named the Firmament*": *i.e.* the whole expanse of space visible from the Earth was named Heaven, after that greater eternal or empyrean Heaven which it was to typify to Man.

311, 312. "*after her kind, whose seed is in herself.*" A distinct instance of "*her*" where we should say *its*; and Milton here deviates from the authorized text, which is (Gen. i. 11) "the fruit-tree yielding fruit after his kind, whose seed is in itself."

322. "*add the humble shrub.*" I restore this reading from the First and Second Editions: the Third has "*and the humble shrub,*" which reading has consequently slipped into all the later copies.

325. "*gemmed,*" *i.e.* "put forth," from the Latin *gemmare*, to bud or put forth blossoms.

372, 373. "*jocund to run his longitude,*" *i.e.* path from east to west.

374, 375. "*the Pleiades,*" etc. Job xxxviii. 31.

382. "*dividual,*" *i.e.* divided or shared (Lat. *dividuus*). See note, IV. 486.

388. "*Reptile*": here used in the sense of creeping or moving things of the waters—*i.e.* fishes of all kinds. See Psalm civ. 25.

402. "*sculls*": a provincial word with fishermen for "shoals"; which word had been already used in line 400.

420. "*callow*," *i.e.* featherless; "*fledge*," feathered. It was an old adjective: see it before, III. 627.

421. "*summed their pens*": completed their plumage.

429, 430. "*with mutual wing easing their flight*," *i.e.* facilitating the flight of the whole body by each in turn becoming the point of the wedge.

440. "*Her state*": perhaps merely her stately shape, but perhaps with the image of a "state-barge" and its white canopy.

471. "*Behemoth*": here used for Elephant, as "Leviathan" has just been (412) for the Whale. In Job (xl. 15, and xli. 1) the names are rather for the hippopotamus and the crocodile.

490. "*the female bee*," etc. The notion was common in Milton's time that the working bees were females.

517, 518. "*(for where is not He present?)*." Inasmuch as the acts of creation are being done by the Son within what had hitherto been part of the body of Chaos, and the Father might be thought of as having remained in Heaven, this parenthesis, reminding the reader of the Father's omnipresence, was not unnecessary.

535—538. "*Wherever thus created . . . he brought thee into this delicious grove, this Garden.*" It is here implied that the creation of Man did not take place within Paradise, but somewhere out of it; and this is in accordance with Gen. ii. 8 and 15.

565—567. "*Open, ye everlasting gates*," etc. Ps. xxiv. 7.

596, 597. "*organs of sweet stop*," wind instruments; "*all sounds on fret*," all sounds produced from strings by "frets" or divisions.

619. "*On the clear hyaline, the glassy sea.*" The Angels are supposed to be looking down through Heaven's opening and beholding the new Universe as a miniature Heaven suspended from the main one. They see it founded on the "clear hyaline," *i.e.* on the Crystalline or Ninth Sphere, which encloses it. "*Hyaline*" is the Greek word for "glassy" or "crystalline," and is used in the original of Rev. iv. 6, where our version has "of glass."

640. "*Aught, not surpassing human measure, say.*" In the original edition of the poem, in Ten Books, Book VII.

does not end with this 640th line, but goes on, including the whole of the present Eighth Book.

BOOK VIII.

1—4. "*The Angel ended . . . replied.*" In the First Edition, where the present Seventh and Eighth Books of the poem were conjoined in one as Book VII., the lines 639—642 of that Book ran as follows:—

"... if else thou seekst
Aught, not surpassing human measure, say.
To whom thus *Adam* gratefully repli'd.
What thanks sufficient," etc.

15—178. "*When I behold this goodly frame, this World,*" etc. The discussion between Adam and Raphael in these 164 lines is of singular interest in connection with Milton's astronomical creed. See Introd. p. 40; also IV. 592-597, and note there.

40—57. "*which Eve perceiving . . . rose,*" etc. In this passage one may discern something characteristic of Milton's ideal of woman.

81, 82. "*build, unbuild, contrive to save appearances.*" A very true description of the ingenious shifts to which the Ptolemaists had been put in order to reconcile their system, time after time, with a new set of phenomena.

82—84. "*gird the Sphere with Centric and Eccentric scribbled o'er, Cycle and Epicycle, Orb in Orb.*" The fundamental notion of the Ptolemaists being that the motions of all the heavenly bodies were in perfect circles, they had been obliged, in order to account for many phenomena inexplicable on the first and simplest form of that supposition, to bring in two devices—the *Eccentric* and the *Epicycle.* The first consisted in the idea that, while the Earth is the centre of the Primum Mobile, and consequently of the whole mundane system, the spheres of the planets, and especially of the Sun, need not be strictly *concentric* (*i.e.* need not have the Earth strictly for their centre), but may be *eccentric* (*i.e.* may revolve round a point somewhat to the side of the Earth). The other device consisted in the idea that the body of a planet need not be strictly fixed in its *Cycle*, or the circum-

ference of its wheeling sphere, but may move fly-like in an *Epicycle*, *i.e.* a small subsidiary circle revolving round a point in that wheeling circumference. By a complicated use of these two devices, in aid of the more simple and early device of merely multiplying the mundane orbs, the Ptolemaic astronomers had "contrived to save appearances," but only by such a dizzy intricacy of wheels *within* wheels and wheels *on* wheels as Milton describes. His language hits off very exactly the three combined devices for meeting the difficulties: (1) *Eccentric* as well as *Centric;* (2) *Epicycle* as well as *Cycle;* (3) multiplication of general *Orbs.*

128. "*In six thou seest,*" *i.e.* in the Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn.

130. "*three different motions.*" These are (1) the diurnal rotation of the Earth on her axis; (2) her annual orbit round the Sun; (3) the libration or oscillation of the axis itself. The three are exemplified in a top spinning. The spinning of the top is the first motion; the circle it describes while spinning shows the second; the varied balancing of the top all the while from a more upright to a more slant position represents the third.

133—136. "*that swift nocturnal and diurnal rhomb supposed,*" etc., *i.e.* the revolution of the Tenth Sphere or Primum Mobile. *Rhombus* is "wheel."

149. "*With their attendant Moons.*" A reference to Galileo's discovery that Jupiter and Saturn have satellites.

150. "*male and female light,*" *i.e.* direct and reflected.

183—197. "*nor with perplexing thoughts to interrupt the sweet of life . . . to know that which before us lies in daily life is the prime wisdom,*" etc. To qualify the impression made by this passage, see Milton's enthusiastic outburst on the pleasures of scientific research and speculation in the third of his *Prolusiones Oratoriæ*, and also his advocacy of Physical Science in his *Tract on Education.*

209. "*Fond*": in its old sense of "foolish."

229—244. "*For I that day was absent,*" etc. An extremely ingenious idea, permitting the introduction of Adam's own story of what he recollects of his creation. Raphael would gladly hear it, he says; for he had not been present on the Earth, or in the Mundane Universe at all, on that Sixth day on which Adam had been created. He, with the legion under his command, had been despatched down

through the belt of Chaos underneath the Mundane Universe, with an order to guard the gates of Hell, lest any of the Rebel Spirits should emerge to interrupt the creative work. The gates were fast; but he had heard the noise of tumult within, showing that the Fiends had recovered from their stupor and were again in commotion. See note, IV. 449, 450.

246. "*Ere Sabbath evening,*" *i.e.* not the evening of Sabbath or Seventh day itself, but the evening of the Sixth day, before the Sabbath began.

251. "*who himself beginning knew?*" *i.e.* "who ever knew himself as beginning or commencing to exist?"

337. "*purpose*": discourse (Fr. *propos*), as at IV. 337.

384. "*sort*": issue, come to pass, succeed (Fr. *sortir*).

465. "*left side.*" This is an addition of the commentators, Scripture (Gen. ii. 21) not mentioning from which side the rib was taken.

571—573. "*Oft-times nothing profits more than self-esteem,*" etc. A very Miltonic sentiment, exhibited and asserted in Milton's own life.

576. "*adorn,*" adorned, from the Italian *adorno.*

631, 632. "*the Earth's green Cape and verdant Isles Hesperean,*" *i.e.* Cape Verd and the Cape Verd Islands, west of Africa.

653. "*Adam to his bower.*" The conversation of Adam with Raphael had taken place *in* the bower; but Adam is to be supposed as having, at its close, *followed* Raphael (line 645) to the entrance of the bower.

BOOK IX.

13—19. "*argument not less but more heroic than,*" etc. Milton here claims superiority for his theme over the themes of the three greatest Epics of the world till then:—the *Iliad,* which sings of the "wrath of Achilles," and one of the incidents of which is the pursuit of Hector by Achilles round the walls of Troy; the *Æneid,* in which is related the anger of Turnus on account of the promise of Lavinia to Æneas, and much of the plot of which turns on the hostility of Juno to Æneas, as the son of Venus (Cytherea); the *Odyssey,* the hero of which, Ulysses, is persecuted by Neptune.

21. "*my celestial Patroness*," *i.e.* Urania. See VII. 1, 2, and note.

26. "*long choosing, and beginning late.*" The subject of *Paradise Lost* had first occurred to him about 1640; but "long choosing" among other subjects had followed; and not till 1658, when he was fifty years of age, had he seriously begun. See Memoir, p. xvi. and p. xliv., and Introd. pp. 16-21.

29, 30. "*chief mastery to dissect . . . fabled knights.*" An allusion to the minute descriptions of wounds in Homer and other epic poets.

35. "*Impresses*" (Italian *impresa*), devices or emblems used on shields or otherwise.

36. "*Bases*," kilts or lower garments.

38. "*sewers*," those who ushered in the meals and arranged them on the table; "*seneshals*," house-stewards.

39. "*The skill of artifice* (*i.e.* mere artizanship) *or office mean*," etc. And yet writers of heroic poems of the kind described had been Spenser, Ariosto, and the like.

52. "*Night's hemisphere.*" One half of the Earth being in shadow constitutes night.

60—61. "*Since Uriel*," etc. Book IV. 555-575.

64—66. "*thrice the equinoctial line he circled*," etc. Of the seven days during which Satan had gone round and round the Earth, always keeping on its dark side, three had been spent in moving from east to west along the equator, and four in moving from pole to pole, or from north to south and back; and in this second way he would "traverse" (go along) the two great circles from the poles called specially "*the colures*," viz. the Equinoctial colure and the Solstitial colure.

69—73. "*There was a place . . . where Tigris*," etc. See IV. 223-246, and note there.

76—82. "*Sea he had searched and land*," etc. The Fiend, on leaving Eden (IV. 1015), had gone northward over the Pontus Euxinus or Black Sea, and the Palus Mæotis or Sea of Azof, and still northward as far as the Siberian river Ob, which flows into the Arctic Sea; whence, continuing round the pole and descending on the other side of the globe, he had gone southwards as far as the Antarctic pole. So much for his travels north and south. In "*length*," *i.e.* in longitude, his journeys had extended from the Syrian

river Orontes, west of Eden, to the Isthmus of Darien, and so still west, completing the round of the globe equatorially to India on the east of Eden. Observe Milton's accuracy in putting the Ganges before the Indus. In the circuit described Satan would come on the Ganges first.

218. "*spring of roses*," *i.e.* growth or thicket of roses.

249. "*For solitude*," etc. A line hypermetrical by two syllables, or a whole foot.

289. "*misthought*": to be construed along with the noun "thoughts" preceding;—"*to thee so dear*": referring to what Adam had himself said, line 228.

330. "*on our front.*" Having already used the word "affront," Eve pursues the image which its literal meaning ("to meet face to face") suggests.

341. "*Eden were no Eden*," *i.e.* would not answer to its name, which means "deliciousness."

387. "*Oread*," mountain nymph; "*Dryad*," nymph of the oak-groves; "*Delia's*," Diana's.

393—396. "*Pales*," the goddess of pastures; "*Pomona*," the goddess of orchards; "*Vertumnus*," the god of the changing seasons; "*Ceres*," the goddess of husbandry, and mother of "*Proserpina*." The splendid boldness of the expression "*yet virgin of Proserpina from Jove*" for "not yet mother of Proserpina" has irritated some critics. "What a monster of a phrase!" said Bentley, attributing it to the careless amanuensis.

439—443. "*those gardens feigned*," etc. The commentator Pearce cites a passage from Pliny's Natural History in which he speaks of the gardens of the Hesperides and those of Adonis and Alcinous as among the wonders of the world. The "gardens of Adonis," however, are said to have been originally but the pots of herbs and flowers which were carried by the women in the yearly festivals in honour of the restoration of Adonis by Proserpina after he had been killed by the wild boar. But they are real gardens in the allusions and descriptions of poets (*e.g.* Spenser, *F. Q.* III. vi. and *Comus* 998). The gardens of Alcinous, the King of the Phæacians, who entertained Ulysses, are described in the seventh book of the *Odyssey*. "*Not mystic*," says Milton, *i.e.* "not mythical," were the gardens of Solomon (Song of S. vi. 2), where he dallied with his Egyptian wife, Pharaoh's daughter.

504—510. "*never since of serpent kind lovelier*," etc.

First among celebrated serpents Milton mentions "*those that in Illyria changed,*" (*i.e.* became the substitutes for) "*Hermione and Cadmus*": the story being that Cadmus and his wife (generally called *Harmonia*) prayed the gods in their old age to be relieved from life, and were changed into serpents. Next is mentioned the serpent in whose shape the god Æsculapius went from Epidaurus to Rome, when a plague was raging in that city. The last mentioned are those into which Jupiter Ammon and Jupiter Capitolinus were respectively transformed, the first when he visited Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, the second when he visited the mother of Scipio Africanus. Jupiter was the fabled father of both these heroes.

450. "*tedded grass,*" *i.e.* cut and spread out to dry.

522. "*Than at Circean call the herd disguised,*" *i.e.* than the mortals transformed into beasts by the enchantments of Circe were at *her* call.

624. "*bearth.*" So in Milton's own texts, and not *birth.* By the peculiar form of the word he intensifies the meaning. See Essay on Milton's English, p. 169.

634—640. "*a wandering fire,*" etc. The *Ignis Fatuus* or "Will of the Wisp"; in his account of the cause of which phenomenon Milton follows the science of his time.

640. "*Misleads the amazed night-wanderer from his way*": a recollection surely, as Todd observed, of Shakespeare's line in *Mid. Night's Dream*, II. i.:—

"Misleads night-wanderers, laughing at their harm."

781. "*she eat.*" So in original text: not *ate,* which is now the authorized preterite.

792. "*And knew not eating death.*" A Greek idiom, used also in Latin.

795. "*virtuous, precious*": two positives used for superlatives, according to a classical idiom.

845. "*divine of something ill.*" This peculiar use of "*divine*" for "foreboding" is, as Newton remarked, from the Latin: Hor., *Od.* III. xxvii. 10.

846. "*the faltering measure,*" *i.e.* the unequal beating of his heart.

853—855. "*in her face . . . to prompt.*" The construction and meaning have puzzled commentators. I understand: "In her face, so beautiful it was, excuse for what she had

done came already, as prologue to the very speech of excuse she was to make, and to prompt (quicken, help on, or prepare for) that apology which she now addressed to him."

1019, 1020. "*Since to each meaning savour we apply, and palate call judicious*," *i.e.* "since we are in the habit of applying the term *savour* in either a physical or a moral sense, and of annexing the epithet *judicious*, which refers originally to the judgment or understanding, to the palate or sense of taste."

1059—1062. "*So rose the Danite strong*," etc. See Judges xiii. 2, 25, and xvi. Observe the pronunciation Dalĭlah. So in *Sams. Ag.* 229, 724, 1072.

1064. "*strucken.*" See note, *Ode Nat.* 95.

1102—1110. "*But such as, at this day, to Indians known, in Malabar or Decan*," etc. The tree, according to Milton here, was not the common fig-tree, but the Indian fig-tree, so first called by the Portuguese from the resemblance of its fruit, though not eatable, to figs. The leaves of this tree, however, are not "broad as Amazonian targe," but actually small.

1115—1118. "*Such of late Columbus found the American*," etc. The first natives of America encountered by Columbus (1492) were totally naked; but he afterwards came upon tribes dressed with cinctures of feathers, as in the text.

BOOK X.

84. "*Conviction to the Serpent none belongs*," *i.e.* no proof is required against the mere brute serpent, which was Satan's instrument.

92—95. "*Now was the Sun*," etc. The authority for the time here is Gen. iii. 8; and in the sequel of that passage there is authority for what follows here, as far as line 222.

178. "*And dust shalt eat*," etc. In the apparently lame metre of this verse we have an instance of Milton's carefulness to quote as literally as possible the exact words of Scripture. (Gen. iii. 14. 15.)

184—191. "*Saw Satan fall like lightning*," etc. The early commentator Hume pointed out the coagulation in this passage of these texts—Luke x. 18; Eph. ii. 22; Col. iii. 15; Ps. lxviii. 18; Rom. xvi. 20.

217, 218. "*or slain, or, as the snake, with youthful coat repaid,*" *i.e.* "either slain for the purpose, or only stripped of their skins, and provided with others, as the snakes cast their skins." Death had now been brought into the world, but the poet professes ignorance whether beasts were slain or not to provide the first clothing for Adam and Eve.

229—271. "*Meanwhile . . . , within the gates of Hell sat Sin and Death,*" etc. The story of the poem here reverts to Sin and Death, who had been left inside the gates of Hell when Satan passed through into Chaos to discover the New World, II. 889. By some secret physical sympathy, Sin, sitting at those now open gates, had become aware of Satan's success in his enterprise far overhead, and of the Fall of Man. She proposes, therefore, to Death to construct a causey, bridge, or pathway, from Hell-gates across Chaos to the New World, so that the communication may henceforth be easier, and the inhabitants of Hell may pass at their pleasure between Hell and the upper World.

260, 261. "*for intercourse or transmigration,*" etc., *i.e.* "whether for going to and fro between Hell and the World of Man, or for permanent passage up to the World of Man, as may be their lot."

279. "*the grim Feature,*" *i.e.* figure or form. (Italian *fattura*; English manu*facture.*)

282—311. "*Then both, from out Hell-gates,*" etc. The building of the prodigious bridge is here described, with these comparisons:—The gathering out of Chaos of the solid or slimy matter that was to form the pier or commencement of the bridge at Hell's gate, and the driving or pushing of the same thither from opposite sides by Sin and Death, were as when two winds from opposite quarters on the "*Cronian Sea*" (*i.e.* the Arctic Sea, from Kronos or Saturn) drive together icebergs, so as to stop "*the imagined way*" (*i.e.* the suspected north-east passage) "*beyond Petsora*" (a gulf on the extreme north-east of the present European Russia) "*to the Cathaian coast*" (*i.e.* to China). The cementing or fixing of the aggregated soil by Death's mace was like the fixing of the floating island of Delos by Zeus; and Death's very look assisted in the work by binding the mass with "Gorgonian rigour" (*i.e.* a stiffness like that produced by the look of the Gorgon, which turned people into stone). The famous bridge of Xerxes over the Hellespont

when he came from "*Susa, his Memnonian palace*" (Susa, the residence of the Persian kings, is called Memnonia by Herodotus), bent on the invasion of Europe, was nothing to this.

312—324. "*Now had they brought,*" etc. This passage, describing the completion of the bridge, is not unimportant. The bridge, it seems, not only followed the track which Satan had taken across Chaos, but it terminated, in adamantine fastenings, exactly at that spot ("*the self-same place*") on the bare outside shell or Primum Mobile of the Cosmos where Satan had alighted after his toilsome flight, *i.e.* on its upper boss, near the orifice where the Cosmos was suspended from the Empyrean (see notes, II. 1034-1042, and III. 427-429, 444-497, 498-539). If the reader, then, will take the diagram in p. 33 of the Introduction, and draw with pen or pencil a curved line, from the middle of what is there the arched roof of Hell, upwards on the left hand into the angle made by the equatorial line and the circumference of the little circle representing the Cosmos, that line will mark the track of the bridge built by Sin and Death. The somewhat obscure five lines 320-324 will then be perfectly intelligible; for it will then be seen how "*in little space the confines met of Empyrean Heaven and of this World, and on the left hand Hell with long reach interposed.*" But what are "*the three several ways*" leading "*in sight to each of these three places*"? The bridge itself is one of them, leading to Hell; the mystic stair, or golden passage of communication, up from the orifice into the Empyrean, described at III. 501-522, is another; and the downward shaft into the Cosmos from the same orifice right to Earth, described in the continuation of that passage (III. 523-539), is the third.

327—330. "*Satan . . . betwixt the Centaur,*" etc. The meaning is that Satan, in his ascent from Earth to the opening of the Mundus at its zenith, on his way back to Hell, steered between the constellations Sagittarius and Scorpio, thus keeping a good way from the Sun rising in Aries.

348. "*pontifice,*" *i.e.* bridge, a word apparently of Milton's coining, in recollection of the fact that *pontifex*, one of the Latin designations for "priest," meant originally "bridge-maker." See the adjective "*pontifical*" in the same sense, line 313.

351. "*stupendious.*" So in the original texts. The form, now a vulgarism, was once good English.

381. "*His quadrature.*" Milton has already said of the figure of Heaven, as seen from underneath, that it was "undetermined square or round" (II. 1048 and note there); and, though in the main the fancy of sphericity has served, he here again suggests the alternative of the cubic form. As Hume supposed, he may have had in mind Rev. xxi. 16, where the New Jerusalem is described as "four-square;" and Hume also quotes a passage from the mathematician Gassendi (1592-1655) in which he speaks of the notion that the Empyrean Heaven is externally of "a quadrated form." Milton may have passingly favoured the fancy to distinguish more strongly for a moment the Empyrean from the "*orbicular World*" underneath it, *i.e.* Man's Cosmos.

413. "*planet-strook.*" See note, *Od. Nat.* 95.

415. "*causey,*" still a provincial word for "causeway," and really, as Mr. Keightley has explained, more correct; the word being from the French *chaussée*, and having nothing to do originally with the English word "way."

425, 426. "*Lucifer,*" etc. See note, VII. 131-135.

427. "*the Grand,*" the grandees or chiefs, as distinct from the general body.

431—436. "*As when the Tartar,*" etc. Images drawn from the recent history of the East. "*Astracan*" is the country north of the Caspian, over which a Tartar host, repulsed by the Russians, might retreat on their way back to Asia; and, again, if the *Bactrian Sophi* (*i.e.* the Shah of Persia, of which the ancient Bactria was a part, and the ruling dynasty of which from 1502 to and beyond Milton's time was that of the Sofis or Sooffees) were retreating from before the crescent standards of the Turks to his capital *Tauris* (Tabreez) or to *Casbeen* (Kasveen) farther inland, he would leave waste the country between himself and *the realm of Aladule* (*i.e.* Greater Armenia, the last king of which before its conquest by the Turks was named Aladule). These recollections of maps by a blind man are surprising.

460. "*Thrones, Dominations,*" etc. Mr. Browne notes the occurrence of this line three times before: V. 601, 772, 840.

477. "*unoriginal,*" without beginning.

524—526. "*Scorpion, and Asp,*" etc. Most of the names

here for different kinds of serpents occur, Hume pointed out, in a passage in Lucan (*Phars.* ix. 700 *et seq.*).

526—528. "*the soil bedropt with blood of Gorgon,*" *i.e.* Libya, when Perseus carried the Gorgon Medusa's head through the air to Ethiopia, and the bloody drops made the serpents with which Libya swarms. *Ophiusa* or *Colubrasia* (both names meaning "Snake Island") is now Formentara, south of Iviza.

529. "*Dragon.*" Rev. xii. 9.

531. "*Huge Python,*" *i.e.* the Serpent bred out of the slime of Deucalion's Flood, and slain by Apollo.

560. "*Megæra*": one of the Furies, who had serpents for hair.

561—570. "*like that which grew,*" etc. The story of the Dead Sea apples, or apples of Sodom, fair outside, but full of ashes within, had its origin in the fact that there is in that region an apple-like fruit which explodes on pressure.

572. "*Whom they triumphed once lapsed,*" *i.e.* "over whose single lapse they triumphed."

580—584. "*And fabled how the Serpent,*" etc. In one of the Greek theogonies *Ophion* (which word implies "Serpent") and *Eurynome* ("the wide-ruling") were the primeval god and goddess, superseded by Kronos and Rhea (called otherwise *Saturn* and *Ops*), who again were dispossessed by Jupiter, called *Dictæan*, because he was brought up on the Cretan mountain Dicte. Milton treats the myth of Ophion and Eurynome as a tradition of the story of the Serpent and Eve kept up among the Heathen by the Devils themselves.

581, 582. "*wide-encroaching.*" A noticeable word here, inasmuch as it is divided between two lines. In the original text, as in ours, there is a hyphen after "*wide.*"

601. "*vast un-hide-bound corpse,*" *i.e.* vast body, not bound tightly by its skin, but with its skin hanging loose about it.

657. "*to the other five,*" *i.e.* to Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn.

658—661. "*Their planetary motions and aspects, in sextile,*" etc. The phrases are all taken exactly from the old Astrology, which recognised five *aspects* of the planets, each having its peculiar kind of influence on events,—*conjunction* or *synod*, *sextile*, *square*, *trine*, and *opposition*.

668—678. "*Some say,*" etc. It is poetically assumed

here that before the Fall the ecliptic or Sun's path was in the same plane as the Earth's equator, and that the present obliquity of the two planes, or their intersection at an angle of 23½°, was a modification of the physical Universe for the worse, consequent on the Fall. There were two ways in which the alteration might have been produced; and Milton states both. Either the axis of the Earth might have been pushed askance the required distance; or the Sun himself might have been compelled to deviate the required distance ("*like distant breadth*") from his former path. To indicate what the second would amount to, Milton follows the Sun in the imagined deviation. First he traces him in his ascent north from the equatorial road, through the constellations Taurus and Gemini (in the neck of the former of which are the Pleiades, called "*the Seven Atlantic Sisters*," as being the daughters of Atlas, while the Gemini are "*the Spartan twins*," as representing Castor and Pollux, the Spartan Brothers), and so up to his extreme northern distance from the equator at the Crab in the Tropic of Cancer; then he descends with him again, by Leo and Virgo, till he retouches the equator at Libra, or the Scales, merely suggesting the equal vagary southwards beyond the equator as far as the Tropic of Capricorn.

685—687. "*which had forbid the snow from cold Estotiland*," *i.e.* would have prevented the snow from coming so far from the north pole as to Estotiland (an old name for the part of North America east of Hudson's Bay); "*and south as far beneath Magellan*": *i.e.* and kept the snow from as much of the Earth towards the south pole.

688. "*Thyestean banquet.*" Atreus, king of Argos, served up to his brother Thyestes at a banquet the flesh of Thyestes's own sons; at which horror the Sun turned out of his course.

695—706. "*Norumbega*," in old maps, is the part of the coast of the present United States nearest to Canada. "*The Samoed shore*" is the Siberian shore north-east of Russia. From these northern regions blow the cold north winds, viz. *Boreas* (N.), *Cæcias* (N.E.), *Argestes* (N.W.), and *Thrascias* (N.N.W.). The south winds that encounter them are *Notus* (S.) and *Afer* (S.W.), rushing from Sierra Leone and other parts of Africa; and the hubbub is increased by the crossing of the Levant ("rising" or eastern)

and Ponent ("setting" or western) winds: viz. *Eurus* (E.) and *Zephyr* (W.), *Sirocco* (S.E.) and *Libecchio* (S.W.). The names, the studied music of which delighted Milton, are partly classical, partly Italian.

711. "*To graze the herb all leaving.*" Milton assumes that there were no carnivorous animals, whether fowls, fishes, or beasts, before the Fall; and he has specially mentioned the fishes as then only herbivorous (VII. 404).

741. "*Heavy, though in their place,*" *i.e.* though at their proper centre or resting-place, where they ought to have no weight.

783. "*lest all I,*" *i.e.* lest the whole of me,—body and soul together.

792. "*All of me, then, shall die.*" This was Milton's own belief, expressed by him most distinctly in his Latin treatise *Of Christian Doctrine.* He did not adopt the usual doctrine of a distinction between soul and body, but regarded soul and body as bound up with each other and inseparable. Hence, at death, he held, soul dies as well as body; so that after death there is a total cessation or suspension of personal consciousness till the miraculous resurrection, when body and soul shall be revived together. See Memoir, lxvii. lxviii.

795—798. "*Be it,*" etc. The meaning is "granted that it is so,"—*i.e.* that God's wrath must be infinite, because He is himself infinite,—yet Man, the object of this wrath, is not infinite, but mortal by doom; and even infinite wrath must come to an end with the death of its object,—unless death itself were somehow to be made deathless or everlasting.

806—808. "*By which all causes,*" etc. This was a famous aphorism of the scholastic philosophy, and is the same as the so-called doctrine of "The Relativity of Knowledge," which declares that things or causes are not known absolutely as they themselves are, but only according to the nature and powers of the minds or sentiencies receiving impressions from them.

861. "*With other echo late I taught,*" etc. See V. 202-204.

867. "*Out of my sight, thou serpent.*" Compare *Sams. Ag.* 748, "*Out, out, hyæna,*" etc.

872, 873. "*pretended to hellish falsehood,*" *i.e.* stretched in front of hellish falsehood, so as to mask it.

887, 888. "*Well if thrown out*," etc. A reference to the opinion that Adam had been created with a supernumerary rib on his left side, out of which Eve was formed.

898—908. "*For either he never shall*," etc. In not a few passages where Eve is spoken of it is possible to suppose a recollection by Milton of the incidents of his own married life; but in few passages is the personal reference so distinct as in this.

989, 990. In the First, Second, and Third Editions these two lines are printed thus:

> "*Childless thou art, childless remaine;*
> *So Death shall be deceiv'd his glut, and with us two*"—

the first line having two syllables defective of the usual measure, and the second two in excess.

1069. "*this diurnal star*," *i.e.* the Sun. Compare *Lycid.* 168.

1073. "*attrite to fire*": made into fire by attrition,—an allusion to the process of obtaining fire by rubbing or striking bodies together.

1075. "*Tine*": to light or kindle. The word occurs in Spenser.

1091. "*Frequenting*," *i.e.* filling, in the sense of the Latin *frequentare*: *e.g.* "Italiam coloniis frequentavit."

BOOK XI.

10—14. "*the ancient pair*," etc. In the classic legend Deucalion and Pyrrha, the survivors from the primeval Deluge, consult the oracle of Themis as to the means of restoring the human race.

15. "*nor missed the way*," etc. A reference to III. 444 *et seq.*, where the Limbo of Fools is described. See particularly line 487 in that passage.

17. "*Dimensionless*": without length, breadth, or depth, as not being material substances.

28. "*manuring*." See note, IV. 628.

86. "*defended*": forbidden, as in French.

99. "*Michael*," etc. Bishop Newton has pointed out that there is a poetical fitness in the selection of Michael for this errand,—first, because Michael was the Archangel of

Severity, who had already been sent to execute similar justice on the Rebel Angels; and, secondly, because less has been heard hitherto of this Archangel, in the main story of the poem, than of Uriel, Gabriel, and Raphael.

128, 129. "*Four faces each,*" etc. Ezek. x. 12-14.

131—133, "*Argus,*" etc. The "*Arcadian pipe*" is the shepherd's pipe with which Hermes or Mercury charmed to sleep the hundred-eyed Argus, employed by Juno to watch Io; the "*opiate rod*" is the caduceus or wand of the same Mercury, which had the power of sending to sleep.

133—135. "*Meanwhile,*" etc. Here begins the last day of the action of the poem.

135. "*Leucothea*": the "Bright Goddess" of the Greeks, identified by the Romans with their *Matuta* or Morning Goddess.

159. "*Eve rightly called,*" etc. Gen. iii. 20. Bishop Newton's note on the passage is, "He called her before *Ishah*, Woman, because she was taken out of *Ish*, Man (VIII. 496); but he now denominates her *Eve* or *Havah*, from a Hebrew word which signifies *to live.*" But she has already been called Eve in the poem by Milton himself.

185. "*the bird of Jove*": the eagle.

205. "*yon western cloud.*" This implies that Michael approached Paradise on its western side; which is the more fit, as Mr. Keightley noted, because he was to expel Adam and Eve at the opposite side.

213—220. "*Not that . . . Mahanaim . . . Dothan,*" etc. Gen. xxxii. 1, 2; and 2 Kings vi. 13-17.

242, 243. "*Melibœan,*" from Meliboea in Thessaly, "*or the grain of Sarra,*" *i.e.* the purple of Tyre, called *Sar* after the name of the shell-fish that yielded it. See note, V. 285.

264. "*Heart-strook.*" See note, *Ode Nat.* 95.

270. "*native soil.*" Eve may say so, Hume notes, as having been created in Paradise; but Adam was created outside of Paradise, and brought into it.

377. "*In the visions of God.*" Ezek. xl. 2.

385—411. "*His eye might there command,*" etc. In this splendid geographical survey there is a certain order:— In lines 387-395 the eye sweeps over ASIA. It begins with the region there which was called Tartary in Milton's time

(now divided between the Russian and Chinese empires), singling out the site of Genghis Khan's future capital of *Cambalu* in Cathay, and that of Tamerlane's future camp of *Samarcand* north of the Oxus; thence it stretches to China, represented by *Paquin* or *Pekin;* thence it returns by the Indian south, selecting *Agra* and *Lahore*, celebrated cities of the Mogul monarchs, and glancing at the East Indies as far as the *Golden Chersonese* or peninsula of Malacca; and it concludes with a glance at the west of the continent, noting Persia with its successive capitals of *Ecbatana* and *Ispahan*, Russia or Muscovia (reputed to belong to Asia) with its capital *Moscow*, and Turkey with its capital *Byzantium* or Constantinople. AFRICA comes next, in lines 396-404. Here first we have Abyssinia, the Emperor of which is called "Negus" in the native Ethiopic, and the northernmost part of which on the Red Sea is *Ercoco* (Arkecko); then are seen the smaller maritime kingdoms of the east coast—*Mombaza*, *Quiloa*, *Melinda*, and *Sofala;* then the Cape is rounded, and we come to *Congo* and *Angola*, kingdoms on the west coast; and thence, by the Niger, we reach *Mount Atlas*, with the Barbary States of Northern Africa, once included in the dominions of Al-Mansur (the second of the Abbaside Khalifs) —towns or divisions of which are *Fez*, *Sus*, *Morocco*, *Algiers*, and *Tremisen*. EUROPE is dismissed rapidly in lines 405, 406, with but a look at *Rome*. Lines 406-411 range to AMERICA, foreseeing *Mexico* (the capital of Montezuma, who was conquered by Cortez), *Cusco* in Peru (the last native ruler of which was Atabalipa, conquered by Pizarro), and that great city in Guiana which the Spaniards (called "Geryon's sons," after Geryon, a legendary Spanish king) longed to reach and named *El Dorado*.—The whole passage, besides illustrating the strength of Milton's geographical memory, is another illustration also of his art in the music of proper names.

414. "*euphrasy and rue.*" Euphrasy, popularly called "eye-bright," was supposed to have a specific effect in clearing the sight; and among the medicinal virtues attributed to rue—which was called "herb of grace" (*Richard II.*, III. 4, and *Hamlet*, IV. 5)—was also that of strengthening the eyes.

433. "*sord.*" So spelt in the original,—sward, or turf. The spelling is found in other poets.

485—487. "*Demoniac phrenzy, moping melancholy,*
And moon-struck madness, pining atrophy,
Marasmus, and wide-wasting pestilence."

These three lines do not occur in the First Edition, but are inserted in the Second.

486. "*moon-struck.*" So here, and not *moon-strook*, though *strook* is Milton's favourite form (note, *Ode Nat.* 95) and we have had "*heart-strook*" (XI. 264) and "*planet-strook*" a little while ago (X. 413). The reason is obvious. The sound *strook* would not suit in conjunction with the sound *moon.*

487. "*Marasmus*": consumption.

494. "*deform.*" This word (from the Latin *deformis*) is repeated from II. 706.

514. "*for his Maker's image sake*": a construction like "for conscience sake."

551, 552. "*Of rendering up, and patiently attend*
My dissolution. Michaël replied:"

This is an expansion, in the Second Edition, of what formed but one line in the First, thus

"Of rendering up. Michael to him repli'd."

556—573. "*whereon were tents,*" etc. Gen. iv. 20-22.

573—592, "*After these . . . a different sort,*" etc., *i.e.* the children of Seth, "*on the hither side,*" or nearer to Paradise than the descendants of the banished Cain. Some of the particulars respecting the Sethites are from Josephus and Jewish tradition; others from Gen. vi. 1, 2.

621—627. "*To these that sober race of men,*" etc. Here Milton adopts that opinion which makes the sons of God who married the daughters of men (Gen. vi. 1, 2) to be the Sethites; elsewhere, however, he adopts the opinion which supposes them to have been the Angels. See *Par. Lost,* V. 447, and *Par. Reg.*, II. 178-181.

632, 633. "*Man's woe . . . from Woman.*" Is this an intended play upon the words?

665. "*Of middle age one rising.*" Enoch, represented as 365 years old at the time of his translation, not half the age attributed to the oldest patriarchs. See Gen. v. 24 and Jude 14, referred to also in line 700.

669. "*exploded*": execrated, hissed at, drove off the

stage by hissing,—the literal meaning of the Latin *explodo*, from *ex* and *plaudo*.

681, 682. "*But who*," etc. The syntax of these two lines is very peculiar, the word *whom* having to be resolved, not as usual into *and him*, but into *who* . . . *him*—"that just man who, had not Heaven rescued him, had been lost."

688. "*these Giants*." Gen. vi. 4.

700. "*the seventh from thee*." Jude 14.

706. "*Rapt*," etc. The manner of Enoch's translation is supposed to be the same as the manner of Elijah's. 2 Kings ii. 11.

729—753. "*Began to build a vessel*," etc. Gen. vi. and vii.; but Milton has inserted recollections of descriptions of the Flood in Ovid (*Met.* i.) and other poets.

773, 774. "*neither* . . . *and*." A peculiar construction, in which *neither* is not followed as usual by *nor*.

829—835. "*Then shall this Mount*," etc. Adopting the opinion that Paradise was obliterated by the Flood, Milton here disposes of it very poetically. It was swept down "*the great river*," *i.e.* the Euphrates, to the Persian Gulf, where it took root as a miserable island. See IX. 69-73, and note, IV. 223-246.

835. "*orcs*": whales, or other huge fishes.

836—838. "*To teach thee*," etc. An undoubted expression of Milton's anti-ceremonialism in ecclesiastical matters.

846. "*their flowing*"; a liberty of syntax, since "*wave*" in the preceding line is in the singular.

866. "*three listed colours*." "*Listed*" is "striped" (A.-S. *list*, a hem or edge: Mid. Latin and Italian *lista*). The three colours meant are perhaps red, yellow, and blue.

884—901. In this speech of Michael's there is a coagulation of such texts of Scripture as these: Gen. vi. 6-12, viii. 22, and ix. 11-16; and 2 Pet. iii. 12, 13.

BOOK XII.

1—5. "*As one who* . . . *new speech resumes*." These five lines were added in the Second Edition, to make a proper opening for the Twelfth Book. In the First Edition there is no such break in Michael's speech, the line

"Thus thou hast seen one world begin and end."

following immediately after what is now the last line of the Eleventh Book.

24—37. "*till one shall rise*," etc., *i.e.* Nimrod. See Gen. x. 8-10.

38—62. "*He, with a crew*," etc. Gen. xi. 1-9. Commentators find no authority in the Bible for connecting Nimrod with the building of the Tower of Babel.

42. "*the mouth of Hell*": not the Hell of the rest of the poem, but the Hell of the ordinary mythology,—Tartarus under the Earth.

85. "*dividual*": separate or separable. See notes, IV. 486 and VII. 382.

101—104. "*witness the irreverent son*," etc. Gen. ix. 22-25. Michael assumes that the story of Ham is known to Adam, though, as Thyer noted, there is no mention of it as having been as yet told him.

115. "*Bred up in idol-worship*." As Abraham's father Terah is mentioned, Josh. xxiv. 2, as having "served other gods," it is assumed that Abraham was bred up in a false religion.

117—120. "*While yet the patriarch lived who*," etc. In the Biblical chronology Noah survives the flood 350 years, and Terah, Abraham's father, was born 222 years after it.

130—137. "*Ur of Chaldæa*," etc. Milton here traces Abraham's route from his native Chaldæa (between the Euphrates and the Tigris) into Palestine. First, leaving Ur (now Orfah, once Edessa) in Chaldæa, he sees him crossing the Euphrates at a ford, with all his wealth and retinue (his father Terah among them, as we learn from Gen. xi. 31; where indeed Terah is represented as heading the expedition), and arriving in Haram in Mesopotamia. Thence, hardly allowing time for that stay in Haram during which Terah died (Gen. xi. 32, and Acts vii. 4), he follows Abraham in the continuation of his journey westward, till he reaches Canaan, and settles first about Sichem in the plain of Moreh, near the centre of the land (Gen. xii. 4-6).

139—146. "*From Hamath*," etc. A poetical survey of the extent of the Holy Land, according to these texts—Numb. xxxiv. 3-12, Deut. iii. 8, 9. *Hamath* is a town in northern Galilee; the *Desert* is the desert of Zin, bordering Palestine on the south; *Hermon* is the range of mountains of that name to the east of upper Jordan; the *great western*

Sea is the Mediterranean; *Mount Carmel* is on the Mediterranean coast; *Jordan* is called "the double-founted stream" as being formed by the junction of two streams in the extreme north of Palestine; *Senir* is properly another name for Mount Hermon (Deut. iii. 9), but seems to be used by Milton for some range, also east of Jordan, stretching farther to the south.

152. "*faithful Abraham*," etc. Gen. xvii. 5, and Gal. iii. 9.

250. "*of cedar*." Mr. Keightley notes this as an error, —the sanctuary being of shittim-wood or acacia.

255. "*as in a zodiac*," etc. That the seven lamps had this astronomical significance is, as Newton noted, an idea of Josephus.

283—306. "*So many laws argue*," etc. Bishop Newton writes thus:—"Compare the following texts with the poet —Gal. iii. 19; Rom. vii. 7, 8; Heb. ix. 13, 14; Heb. x. 4, 5; Rom. iv. 22-24; Rom. v. 1; Heb. vii. 18, 19; Heb. x. 1; Gal. iii. 11, 12, 23; Gal. iv. 7; Rom. viii. 15. Milton has here, in a few verses, admirably summed up the sense and argument of these and more texts of Scripture." Most of the texts had been traced by the first commentator, Patrick Hume. In all parts of the poem the reference to texts of Scripture is frequent; but in the rest of this last book it is incessant.

310. "*But Joshua, whom the Gentiles Jesus call*." Jesus is used as the Greek equivalent to Joshua in the Septuagint, and also in Acts vii. 15, and Heb. iv. 8. Joshua, Jeshua, Jehoshua, Hoshea, Oshea, and Jesus, are, in fact, but various forms of the same word, meaning either "whose help is Jehovah" or "God the Saviour."

322—330. "*a promise shall receive*," etc. 2 Sam. vii. 16; Psalm lxxxix. 34-36; Isaiah xi. 10; Luke i. 32, 33.

348—350. "*Returned from Babylon by leave of kings*," etc. B.C. 536. The kings meant are Cyrus, Darius, and Artaxerxes. See Book of Ezra.

353—358. "*But first among the priests*," etc. The events of later Jewish history so hurriedly skimmed in this passage are as follows:—In consequence of a struggle for the high-priesthood between two rivals, Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, was able to come to Jerusalem, where he plundered and polluted the Temple, and put the Maccabees to death

(B.C. 173); the kingly power and the high-priesthood were united in Aristobulus, eldest son of the high-priest John Hyrcanus (B.C. 107); and the native dynasty was abolished by Pompey (B.C. 61), who appointed Antipater, the Idumæan, to the government. Antipater's son Herod, in whose reign Christ was born, became King of Judæa B.C. 38.

366, 367. "*They gladly thither haste*," etc. Milton, as Dunster observed, has here deviated from the exact Scriptural account; which is that the carol of angels was heard by the shepherds in the fields, and before they set out for Bethlehem (Luke ii. 8-18).

374. "*which these*"; a very peculiar construction.

394. "*his works*," etc. 1 John iii. 8.

402—435. "*The Law of God*," etc. Among the texts recollected in these thirty-four lines are—Rom. xiii. 10; Gal. ii. 16, and iii. 13; Col. ii. 14; Matt. xxviii. 1; Rom. vi. 9.

436—465. "*Nor after resurrection*," etc. Among the texts recollected or cited in these thirty lines are—Matt. xxviii. 19, 20; Rom. iv. 16; Col. ii. 15; Rev. xx. 2; Luke xxiv. 26; Eph. i. 20, 21, and iv. 8; Luke xxi. 27. Most of them were pointed out by Hume.

442. "*Baptizing in the profluent stream.*" It was Milton's opinion, expressed in his Treatise on Christian Doctrine, that baptism ought to be by immersion.

486—497. "*Be sure*," etc. Texts recollected in these lines are—John xv. 26; Luke xxiv. 49; Gal. v. 6; John xvi. 13; Eph. vi. 11-16; Psalm lvi. 11.

508—530. "*Wolves shall succeed*," etc. There are references in these lines to the following texts:—Acts xx. 29; 1 Pet. v. 2, 3; 1 Cor. ii. 14; Jer. xxxi. 33; 2 Cor. iii. 16, 17. The whole passage is interesting as a summary of those opinions of Milton as to the state of the Church from the Apostolic time downwards which he had expressed more at large in some of his prose-pamphlets.

522—524. "*laws which*," etc. The meaning is "laws which none shall find either in Scripture or to be such as accord with what the Spirit tells the heart to be true."

537—551. "*So shall the world*," etc. Rom. viii. 22; Acts iii. 19; Matt. xxiv. 30, and xvi. 27; 2 Thess. i. 7; 2 Pet. iii. 12, 13.

561—568. "*Henceforth I learn*," etc. 1 Sam. xv. 22; 1 Peter v. 7; Psalm cxlv. 9; Rom. xii. 21; 1 Cor. i. 27.

581—585. "*only add,*" etc. 2 Peter i. 5-7; 1 Cor. xiii. 2 and 13.

588, 589. "*top of speculation*": both literally and metaphorically,—literally, as they were on a mountain-top, whence they could watch or look far around; and metaphorically, as they had just attained the highest point of philosophy or speculative wisdom.

608. "*found her waked*": not quite consistent with the phrase in the Argument prefixed to the Book,—"*wakens Eve.*"

630. "*marish*": the old form of "*marsh,*" used down to Milton's time, and found, as Keightley notes, in the English Bible (Ezek. xlvii. 11).

635. "*adust,*" scorched, burnt: from the Latin *adustus*, Ital. *adusto*. The word is not uncommon in old English writers.

636—639. "*whereat in either hand the Angel,*" etc. Milton recollected here, as Addison pointed out, the behaviour of the Angels to Lot and his family (Gen. xix. 16).

648, 649. Addison thought that the poem would have ended better without these two lines: viz. with the words "*and Providence their guide,*" line 647. Milton thought otherwise, and has left us this last sight of Adam and Eve after they came down from Paradise:—

"They, hand in hand, with wandering steps and slow,
Through Eden took their solitary way."

NOTES TO

PARADISE REGAINED AND SAMSON AGONISTES.

NOTES TO PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK I.

1—7. "*I, who erewhile,*" etc. On the intimate connexion of *Paradise Regained* with *Paradise Lost*, see Introd. pp. 6-10. The passages of Scripture which are Milton's chief authorities in this poem are Matthew iii. and iv. 1-11; Mark i. 1-15; Luke iii. 2-23, and iv. 1-14; and John i.

8—17. "*Thou Spirit,*" etc. See *Par. Lost*, I. 1-26, VII. 1-39, IX. 13-47.——*Eremite*, now *Hermit*, means in Greek "a dweller in the desert."

33. "*the Adversary,*" *i.e.* Satan. See note, *Par. Lost*, I. 82.

44—50. "*O ancient Powers of Air,*" etc. It is to be remembered that, at the loss of Paradise, such a road or bridge was established over Chaos between Hell and the Universe of Man that the Fallen Angels were able thenceforth to go and come at their pleasure between the two, and in fact to consider the Universe an extension of their infernal empire. They are here supposed, accordingly, to have since then resided more in the Universe of Man—"this wide World"—than in Hell; and chiefly they are supposed to have made the Air their residence.

89—91. "*His first-begot we know . . . who this is we must learn.*" Mr. Jerram notes:—"Satan is represented as knowing Jesus to be the Son of God in a certain sense (see Book IV. 501, 515-521), but not as the Messiah."

103, 104. "*a calmer voyage now,*" etc. For now it is not to be from Hell, up through Chaos, to the Human World, as in the former expedition, but only from the mid-air round the Earth, where Satan and his consistory are, down to the Earth.

117. "*yea gods*," *i.e.* not only possessors and rulers of regions of the Earth and Air, but actually gods to men, in consequence of that process by which the Fallen Angels had in course of time been transmuted into the false gods of the various Polytheistic systems. See *Par. Lost*, I. 364 *et seq.*, and note there.

175. "*But to*," etc. A line very peculiar metrically, unless, with Jortin, we suppose "*vanquish*" accented on the last syllable, *vanquísh*.

184. "*Lodged in Bethabara, where John baptized.*" This is from John i. 28—"These things were done in Bethabara, where John was baptizing." In that passage, however, the best Greek MSS. of the New Testament read *Bethany* for *Bethabara;* which reading is adopted by the editors of the Revised New Testament, though they note, "Many ancient authorities read *Bethabarah*, some *Betharabah*." Mr. Jerram, who had remarked the various reading, says that, if *Bethany* is adopted, then conjectures as to the site of Bethabara "are of course futile." He adds, however:—"Some take it to be the *Bethbárah* mentioned in Judges vii. 24, the principal ford of the Jordan; others *Bethnimrah* (Joshua xiii. 27), east of the Jordan and nearly opposite Jericho. Lieut. Conder, of the Palestine Exploration, identifies Bethabara with a ford much farther north, about 25 miles S.E. of Cana, now called *Makhâdet Abâra*. Since Bethabara means 'House of Crossing,' there may have been many places on the Jordan bearing that name."

193. "*the bordering Desert wild.*" The Desert or Wilderness which was the scene of the Temptation was, according to Matthew and Luke, the same as that in which John had been preaching and from which he had gone to Bethabara baptizing. It was called the Wilderness of Judea, and extended from the Jordan along the whole western coast of the Dead Sea. The middle part was called specially the Wilderness of Ziph, from a mountain in it, and the northern part, due east from Jerusalem, the Wilderness of Engedi or Engaddi, from one of the cities of the desert (Josh. xv. 62). The "bordering Desert wild" of the present passage was either this Wilderness of Engedi, or some desert part of the valley of Jordan itself higher up. In the sequel of the poem, however, Milton supposes that Christ, in his forty days of wandering, may have penetrated farther into the Wilder-

ness of Judea and even reached the great Arabian Desert itself.

292, 293. "*I learn not yet,*" etc. In the spirit of such texts as Luke ii. 52, and Mark xiii. 32, and in accordance with the view of some theologians, Milton makes Christ as Man not omniscient, but acquiring knowledge gradually.

294. "*our Morning Star.*" Rev. xxii. 16.

314—320. "*But now an aged man,*" etc. Note the manner of Satan's first appearance here, and how stealthy and mean-looking he is. It is as if the great Satan of *Paradise Lost* had been shrinking since then into the Mephistopheles of the modern world. See Introd. p. 10.

333, 334. "*aught . . . what,*" for "aught that" or "aught which": an obsolete use now of "what," except as a vulgarism, though etymologically proper.

347—351. "*Is it not written?*" etc. Deut. viii. 3.

353, 354. "*Elijah,*" etc. This name occurs four times in the poem. Twice it is spelt *Eliah* in the original edition —viz. here and at II. 19; and twice Elijah—viz. at II. 268, and II. 277.——"*Wandered this barren waste.*" Elijah's wanderings were from Beersheba into the Great Desert as far as Horeb (1 Kings xix. 1-8), and therefore not strictly in that Desert of Judea which is usually supposed to have been the scene of Christ's temptation.

368, 369. "*I came,*" etc. Job. i. 6.

371—376. "*And, when . . . King Ahab,*" etc. 1 Kings xxii. 19-23.

383, 384. "*What can be then less in me than desire,*" etc. The meaning is "The least I can do is to desire"; and the wording, if strictly construed, gives almost the opposite sense. "A word like *less,*" as Mr. Jerram notes, "is liable to cause confusion when joined to a word or phrase implying a negative"; and he quotes sentences from Shakespeare where *less* stands instead of *more.*

428. "*four hundred mouths.*" 1 Kings xxii. 6.

435. "*Ambiguous, and with double sense deluding.*" A reference to some of the famous instances of ambiguous answers by the Delphic Oracle.

456. "*henceforth Oracles are ceased.*" See *Od. Nat.* 173 *et seq.* and note there.

498. "*His grey dissimulation.*" The phrase is found in Ford's *Broken Heart.* Keightley, who noted the fact,

thought it a mere accidental coincidence; but Mr. Jerram observes that the *Broken Heart* came out about 1620, and was probably known to Milton.

BOOK II.

7. "*Andrew and Simon.*" John i. 40, 42.

15. "*Moses . . . missing long.*" Exod. xxxii. 1.

16. "*the great Thisbite.*" Elijah, the Tishbite (1 Kings xvii. 1). Milton avoids the *sh* sound when he can.

17. "*yet once again to come.*" This was a belief of the Early Church, founded on Malachi iv. 5, and Matt. xvii. 11.

19—24. "*so in each place these nigh to Bethabara,*" etc., *i.e.* so the first disciples sought Christ in all places along the Jordan from Bethabara. (See note, I. 184.) The places named are: *Jericho*, which was called "the City of Palms" (Deut. xxxiv. 3), and which was to the west of the Jordan, a little north of the Dead Sea; *Ænon*, a town on the Jordan, considerably higher up and nearer the Lake Gennesareth, and mentioned in John iii. 23 as one of the places where John baptized; *Salem*, mentioned in the same text as near to Ænon, and mentioned also in 1 Sam. ix. 4 as Shalim, in the country round which Saul sought his father's asses, and under the same name in Gen. xxxiii. 18 as a dwelling-place of Jacob (hence probably called "Salem old" by Milton, and not because, as some suppose, he identified it with the Salem of Melchizedek, Gen. xiv. 18); and finally *Machærus*, on the east of the northern angle of the Dead Sea. But they searched not these places only, but also every other town or city between the Lake Genezaret and the Dead Sea,—whether on the west of the Jordan, or in the country called Peræa on the eastern side of that river.

27. "*Plain fishermen (no greater men them call).*" After Spenser (*Shep. Cal.*, i. 1): "A shepherd's boy (no better do him call)."

61—62. Mr. Jerram notes the rhyme in these two lines as an unfortunate accident in a blank verse poem.

119. "*without sign of boast,*" etc. In contrast to his triumphant return from tempting Adam. See *Par. Lost*, x. 460 *et seq.*

131. "*tasted him.*" *Taste* for "test" or "try" is found in old English.

134—137. "*Though Adam,*" etc. The passage is somewhat obscure. I interpret it thus: "Though it required his wife's allurement to make even Adam fall, however inferior he to this man; who, if he be man by the mother's side, is at least adorned from heaven with more," etc.

150—151. "*Belial . . . Asmodai.*" See *Par. Lost*, II. 108 *et seq.*; also IV. 168, VI. 365, with notes.

168. "*the magnetic*": the magnet, or loadstone. Compare "*the Celtic,*" *Par. Lost*, I. 521; "*the stony,*" *Par. Lost*, XI. 4.

178—181. "*Before the Flood,*" etc. Compare *Par. Lost*, XI. 573 *et seq.* The "sons of God" who there intermarried with the "daughters of men" (Gen. vi. 2) are represented as Seth's posterity; here they are the Fallen Angels.

186—191. "*Calisto,*" one of Diana's nymphs, seduced by Jupiter; "*Clymene,*" one of the Oceanids, mother of Phaethon by Apollo; "*Daphne,*" wooed by Apollo; "*Semele,*" mother of Bacchus by Jupiter; "*Antiope,*" wooed by Jupiter as a Satyr; "*Amymone,*" beloved by Neptune; "*Syrinx,*" chased by Pan.

196. "*that Pellean conqueror,*" *i.e.* Alexander the Great, born at Pella, in Macedonia. After the battle of Issus, when he was twenty-three years of age, he dismissed the wife and daughters of Darius, and other captive Persian ladies.

199. "*he surnamed of Africa,*" *i.e.* Scipio Africanus, who generously, when in his twenty-fifth year, restored a young Spanish lady to her family.

210. "*vouchsafe.*" So spelt here, though usually *voutsafe* in Milton.

266—278. "*by the brook of Cherith . . . Elijah . . . Daniel.*" See 1 Kings xvii. 5, 6, and xix. 4, and Daniel i. 11, 12.

269. "*Though ravenous,*" etc. A line hypermetrical by two syllables.

309. "*Outcast Nebaioth.*" The name is here used for Ishmael, Hagar's son; but in Gen. xxv. 13 it is the name of Ishmael's eldest son.

313. "*Native of Thebez.*" A mistake, Mr. Keightley thinks. Elijah was a native of Tishbe in Gilead; Thebez was in Ephraim.

344. "*Grisamber-steamed.*" Perfumes were used in old

English cookery, and especially grisamber or grey amber. Though so called, it was not any kind of amber, but a peculiar grey substance, of animal origin, found floating in the sea, or thrown on the coasts, in warm climates. When heated it gave off a rich fragrance. It was very expensive, and was used only on great occasions.

347. "*Pontus,*" the Euxine; "*Lucrine bay,*" the Lucrine lake in Italy; "*Afric coast*": all celebrated for their fish.

353—361. "*Ganymed,*" Jupiter's cup-bearer; "*Hylas,*" the attendant of Hercules; "*Amalthea's horn,*" the horn of Jupiter's Cretan nurse which he invested with the power of pouring out fruits and flowers; "*ladies of the Hesperides*" (properly "the Hesperides" themselves), daughters of Hesperus, the brother of Atlas, and keepers of the gardens containing the golden fruit. "*Logres*" or *Loegria* is the name in old British legends for what is now the main part of England; "*Lyones,*" a name for Cornwall; "*Lancelot, Pelleas,* and *Pellenore*" are well-known knights of Arthurian romance.

374, 375. "*All these are Spirits of air,*" etc. There is an echo here of a famous passage in the *Tempest,* Act. iv. Sc. 1.

401. "*far-fet,*" *i.e.* "far-fetched." The form "fet" for "fetched" occurs in Chaucer, Spenser, Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, and other poets.

423, 424. "*Antipater the Edomite, and his son Herod.*" See note, *Par. Lost,* XII. 353-358.

439. "*Gideon and Jephtha.*" Judges vi. 11 *et seq.*, and xi.

446. "*Quintius*" is Quintius Cincinnatus, who returned to his plough from the Roman Dictatorship; "*Fabricius*" was a patriotic Roman who resisted all the bribes of King Pyrrhus, and died poor; "*Curius*" is the victorious Curius Dentatus, who refused all public rewards, and was found by the Samnite ambassadors roasting turnips; "*Regulus*" is the celebrated Roman who dissuaded his countrymen from peace with the Carthaginians, and then went back to Carthage to suffer the consequences.

457—486. "*What if with like aversion I reject riches and realms,*" etc. This passage, and, indeed, the whole speech of which it is a part, is very characteristic of Milton, and repeats a strain of sentiment frequent in his works.

BOOK III.

13—15. *"the oracle Urim and Thummim,"* etc. The two gems or clusters of gems so called (the names are translated *Manifestation* and *Truth*) were worn in the breast-plate of Aaron and his successors in the high priesthood, and used, in some unknown way, for the purposes of augury on solemn occasions. See Exod. xxviii. 30; Levit. viii. 8; Numb. xxvii. 21; Deut. xxxiii. 8; 1 Sam. xxviii. 6; Ezra ii. 63; Neh. vii. 65.

31—42. *"Thy years are ripe,"* etc. At the time of the Temptation, Jesus (Luke iii. 23) was about thirty years of age. Alexander, *"the son of Macedonian Philip,"* had begun to reign at the age of twenty, and had overturned the Persian Empire before he was twenty-five. *Scipio* had the command against the Carthaginians in Spain at the age of twenty-four, and had earned his name of "Africanus" by his victories in Africa before he was thirty-three. *Pompey* had certainly earned great distinction in his youth; but it was not till his forty-fourth year that he "rode in triumph," after his conquest of "the Pontic King," Mithridates. The *"great Julius"* was nearly forty years of age before *his* opportunity came; and there is a story of his bursting into tears, either when reading the biography of Alexander, or when looking at a statue of that hero, at the thought that so much of his life was past and so little had been done in it. Compare Milton's Sonnet II.

55. *"His lot who dares be singularly good."* A sentiment and expression peculiarly Miltonic. In the whole passage (44-64) I trace a tinge of autobiographic reference.

81, 82. *"and must be titled Gods"* (like Antiochus, King of Syria, called *Theos*), *"great Benefactors of mankind"* (like Antiochus of Asia and his son Demetrius Poliorcetes, styled *Euergetai*), *"Deliverers"* (*i.e. Soteres* or "Saviours," a title given to several Greek rulers, including the last-named).

84. *"One is the son of Jove," i.e.* Alexander; *"of Mars the other," i.e.* Romulus.

101. *"young African," i.e.* Scipio.

146. *"stood struck."* See note, *Ode Nat.* 95.

160—163. *"oft have they violated the Temple,"* etc.: *e.g.* Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Maccab. v.), and Pompey, who penetrated to the Holy of Holies.

165—170. "*So did not Machabeus,*" etc. The Asmonæan family, so celebrated in later Jewish history, were descended from Asmonæus, a Levite, and were themselves priests, dwelling in the district called Modin. When Antiochus Epiphanes, the Greek king of Syria (see last note), was persecuting the Jews for their religion, Mattathias, the head of this family, and his five sons, John, Simon, Judas, Eleazar, and Jonathan, led a patriotic revolt. Judas particularly distinguished himself, and acquired the name of *Maccabæus*, or "the Hammerer"; which name was extended to the whole family. Their successes were such as to bring the sovereignty into their hands; and the dynasty of the Maccabees, founded B.C. 166 by Judas Maccabæus, lasted more than a century. Satan in the text is careful to call it a "usurpation" of the throne of David.

183. "*And time there is for all things, Truth hath said.*" Eccles. iii. 1.

234. "*once a year Jerusalem,*" *i.e.* during Passover.

253—264. "*It was a mountain,*" etc. Tradition has fixed on Mount Quarantania, on the right bank of the Jordan, as the mountain of the Temptation; but Milton clearly imagines (lines 267-270) that Christ and the Tempter have been transported by magical power to some mountain far beyond the bounds of Palestine. Dunster argued for Mount Niphates in Armenia, on the top of which Satan had alighted on his own first visit to the Earth (*Par. Lost*, III. 742, and note); and some mountain in that region, whence could be seen the "two rivers," Euphrates and Tigris, "the one winding, the other straight," with the "champaign" of Mesopotamia between, seems required by the description. But, as appears presently, the view from the mountain is limitless.

269—297. "*Here thou behold'st,*" etc. The view from the mountain-top in this passage is of what may be called generally THE EAST—*i.e.* of all those countries which, anciently included in the Assyrian and Babylonian Empires, were next comprehended in that of Persia, and so passed under Græco-Macedonian rule, till about B.C. 256, when the Parthians (a people of the region south-east of the Caspian) threw off the government of the Seleucidæ, and were formed into an independent power by their chief, Arsaces. The Parthian Empire of the East lasted, under the successors of Arsaces, till A.D. 226, defying the attempts of the Romans

to subvert it; and at the date to which the poem refers us the Empire was in its most palmy state. The object of the Tempter for the moment is to impress Christ with the extent and greatness of the Empire. For this purpose, he first points out its boundaries,—from the Indus to the Euphrates in one direction, and from the Caspian and Araxes to the Persian Gulf and Arabia in another. Then he points to the famous cities with which the vast area is studded. First there is *Nineveh*, on the Tigris, built by primeval Ninus, the capital of the old Assyrian Empire, and so the seat of that Salmanassar or Shalmanezer, King of Assyria, who, B.C. 721, invaded Samaria, and carried away the Ten Tribes of Israel into captivity (2 Kings xvii. 1-6). Next, on the Euphrates, is *Babylon*, as old, but rebuilt by Nebuchadnezzar, who twice invaded Judæa (2 Kings xxiv. and xxv., and 2 Chron. xxxvi.), and carried away the Jews into that Seventy Years' captivity from which they were liberated by Cyrus, King of Persia. *His* (*i.e.* Cyrus's) capital, *Persepolis*, is also visible, and also *Bactra*, the chief city of the Bactrian part of the Persian Empire. *Ecbatana*, the ancient capital of Media, is visible; also *Hecatompylos*, "the hundred-gated," the capital of Parthia proper, and of the Parthian Empire under the Arsacidæ; also *Susa*, the winter residence and treasury of the old Persian kings, built on the Choaspes or Eulæus river, of whose waters alone the Persian kings would drink. Not so venerable as any of these, as having been built more recently by the Emathians (Macedonians) or the Parthians, but still great and wealthy, were other cities. *Seleucia*, on the Tigris, had been built by Alexander's general, Seleucus Nicator, the founder of the dynasty of the Seleucidæ of Syria; *Nisibis*, in Mesopotamia, was also of Macedonian foundation; *Artaxata*, on the Araxes, was the capital of Armenia; *Teredon* was on the Persian Gulf; and *Ctesiphon*, near Seleucia, was the winter-quarters of the Parthian monarchs.

298—344. "*And just in time thou com'st . . . for now the Parthian king in Ctesiphon*," etc. What was going on in the Parthian Empire, in Ctesiphon or anywhere else, at the date referred to, is profoundly obscure; but the incident which the poet imagines—a review of Parthian troops, preparatory to a march against invading hosts of Scythians from the north—is true to possibility, and gives occasion for a fine

poetical description of those evolutions of the Parthian cavalry, shooting their arrows in retreat as well as in advance, which were so terrible to the Romans. *Sogdiana*, which the Scythian invaders are supposed to have wasted, was the extreme north-east province of the Parthian Empire, and beyond the Oxus.

309. "*In rhombs, and wedges, and half-moons, and wings.*" All these, as Dunster explained, are ancient military terms. The "rhomb" (ῥομβοειδὴς φάλαγξ) was an acute-angled parallelogram, with the acute angle in front; the "wedge" (ἔμβολον, or *cuneus*) was half of a rhomb, or an acute-angled triangle, with the acute angle in front; the "half-moon" was a crescent with the convex to the enemy; the "wings" (κέρατα, or *alæ*) were the extremes or flanks.

311. "*the city-gates*," *i.e.* the gates of Ctesiphon, where the muster takes place.

316—321. "*From Arachosia*," etc. Another of Milton's most musical lists of proper names. *Arachosia* is part of the modern Afghanistan; *Candaor* is Kandahar in that country; *Margiana* was a province adjoining the invaded Sogdiana; *the Hyrcanian cliffs of Caucasus* stand for *Hyrcania*, another province in the north; *the dark Iberian dales* are *Iberia*, a province between the Euxine and the Caspian; *Atropatia* was part of Media; *Adiabene* part of Assyria; *Media* and *Susiana* explain themselves; *Balsara's haven* is Bussorah on the Persian Gulf.

329. "*indorsed with towers.*" A fine expression and yet literal, "having towers on their backs."

338—343. "*When Agrican*," etc. The romance here cited is Boiardo's "Orlando Innamorato," where there is a siege of *Albracca*, the city of *Gallaphrone*, King of Cathay, by *Agricane*, King of Tartary, to win *Angelica*, Gallaphrone's daughter, famous for her beauty at *Charlemain's* court.

342. "*prowest*": bravest, most valiant, most approved.

343. "*Paynim*," Pagan. The two words are the same, save that *Pagan* is directly from the Latin (*paganus*), while *Paynim* is through the French (*paien* or *payen*).

357. "*of David's throne*," *i.e.* of all those dominions which had belonged to David in the palmy days of the Hebrew monarchy, before its diminution.

359. "*Samaritan or Jew.*" Palestine consisted then of three divisions—Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee; but, as Samaria had

received many foreign colonists since the abduction of the Ten Tribes, the Samaritans were not a pure Hebrew race.

361—385. "*Between two such opposing enemies, Roman and Parthian,*" etc. Satan now more fully discloses his purpose in having brought Jesus to the mountain-top and enabled him to survey the great Parthian or Eastern Empire. On the assumption that Christ's ambition is political, and that he has begun to meditate the means of restoring the independence of the Jews, and re-establishing that Kingdom of David which once extended from Egypt to the Euphrates, he has a plan to explain, as follows:—There were then only two great powers in the world, the Roman and the Parthian; and only by the help or connivance of one of those powers in opposition to the other could Jesus hope to succeed in his enterprise. Now, circumstances were such as to recommend, in the first place at least, as the Devil thought, an application to the Parthians. Since B.C. 65 the whole of Syria, with Palestine included in it, had been part of the Roman Empire; and, though the Romans had for some time permitted the native dynasty of the Asmonæans or Maccabees (see note, 165-170) to govern in Palestine under them, and had then caused that dynasty to be supplanted by the Idumæan dynasty of Antipater and his son Herod the Great, they had at length (A.D. 7) abolished all nominal sub-sovereignty in Judæa and Samaria, and converted those two sections of Palestine into a regular Roman province, to be governed by "procurators" under the Prefect of Syria. Pontius Pilate had just been appointed Roman procurator of the province (A.D. 26), while Herod Antipas, called "the Tetrarch," one of the sons of Herod the Great (this was the Herod that beheaded John the Baptist), was suffered still to rule for the Romans in Galilee. All these changes had been of great interest to the Parthians; to whose empire Syria adjoined, separated from it only by the Euphrates, and who had long been trying to wrest that whole region from the Romans, so as to advance the Parthian boundary from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean. They had interfered again and again in Jewish affairs under the later Maccabees, and also under the Idumæan dynasty. Especially they had backed *Antigonus*, one of the Maccabee family, in his contest for the throne against his uncle *Hyrcanus II.*, whom the Romans kept there. They had actually "carried away old Hyrcanus

bound, maugre the Roman" (B.C. 40),—not doing the same for Antigonus, as Milton's words seem to imply, but sustaining him on the throne of Palestine, with Parthian help, till B.C. 37, when the Romans overpowered him and put him to death, to make way for Herod the Great. Remembering these facts, might not Jesus draw the inference? Syria was still the debateable-land between the Romans and the Parthians, the Romans sometimes attacking the Parthians thence, and the Parthians sometimes retaliating by covering Syria with a cloud of their horse. What more likely, therefore, than that, if the Parthians heard of a native claimant for the throne of David, who was no mere Maccabee, but the lineal descendant of David, they would find it their interest to do for him against the Romans even more than they had done for Antigonus, the last of the Maccabees? Jesus, it is hinted (lines 368-385), need not cultivate the Parthian alliance longer than he finds it useful; nay, ultimately, a subversion of the Parthian power itself might be the true policy. For (and here is another subtle ingenuity suggested by historical knowledge) was not the very instrumentality by which the Hebrew monarchy could most easily and most nobly be restored lodged in the heart of the Parthian Empire? Was it not "in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes" (2 Kings xviii. 11) that Shalmanezer, the King of Assyria, had put the Ten Tribes of Israel when he had carried them away captive; and would not the liberation of those lost Tribes in their Parthian fastnesses be at once a great exploit in itself, and the arming of an agency for the rest of the work?

377. "*Ten sons of Jacob, two of Joseph.*" The ten captive tribes of Israel were those of Reuben, Simeon, Zebulon, Issachar, Dan, Gad, Asher, Naphtali, Ephraim, and Manasseh,—the first eight being Jacob's sons, and the last two Joseph's. It has been objected that the text is therefore incorrect—that it should have been "*Eight sons of Jacob, two of Joseph.*" But it is correct enough. Joseph, being represented in Ephraim and Manasseh, brings the number of Jacob's sons concerned up to nine; and the tenth is Levi, many of whose descendants, the Levites, were, of course, carried away, mixed with the other tribes.

384. "*From Egypt to Euphrates.*" Gen. xv. 18, and 1 Kings iv. 21.

409—412. "*When thou stoodst up his tempter,*" etc. 1 Chron. xxi. 1-14.

415—431. "*fell off from God to worship calves,*" etc. 1 Kings xvi. 32 and xi. 5; 2 Kings xvii.

BOOK IV.

10—14. "*as a man who had been matchless held,*" etc. It is a shrewd guess of Dunster's that Milton may have thought here of his own antagonist Salmasius.

25. "*to the western side*": for the vision is now to be in that direction.

27—42. "*Another plain,*" etc., *i.e.* the whole long strip of Italy west of the Apennines, with the Tiber and Rome visible in it. The vision was procured either by magical means, causing some "*strange parallax,*" or apparent elevation of distant objects, or by some arrangement of optical instruments. There had been much speculation on the point among Biblical commentators.

31. "*thence,*" *i.e.* from the Apennines.

32, 33. "*off whose banks on each side,*" etc. The original gives "*of* whose banks on each side," etc. I have little doubt that Milton dictated "off"; which, indeed, is but an emphatic form of "of."

33—39. "*an imperial city,*" etc. The city is, of course, Rome.

50—54. "*Mount Palatine, the imperial palace . . . turrets . . . glittering spires.*" Here again Milton makes poetry overbear chronology and history. It was not till Nero's time that there was any such very splendid palace on the Palatine; and "turrets" and "spires" were hardly features of Roman architecture.

66. "*turms,*" troops, coined from the Latin *turma.*

68, 69. "*on the Appian road, or on the Æmilian.*" The former led south, the latter north.

69—79. "*some from farthest south, Syene,*" etc. Another of Milton's geographical enumerations. *Syene*, in Egypt, on the borders of Ethiopia, was accounted the southernmost point of the Roman Empire; *Meroe* was a celebrated island and city on the Nile in Ethiopia, far beyond Syene, and within the Tropics, so that twice a year shadows of objects

there would change their direction; "*the realm of Bocchus*," was Gætulia in Northern Africa, where king Bocchus had been the father-in-law of Jugurtha, King of Numidia; and this Numidia, with Mauritania, etc., constituted the rest "*to the Blackmoor sea.*" Asia also sends her embassies (observe the dexterity of the remark that the Parthians themselves send ambassadors to Rome), so that even "*the Golden Chersoness*," *i.e.* Malacca, and "*the utmost Indian isle, Taprobane*," *i.e.* Ceylon, are represented. All Europe, of course, is represented,—from the west, where the city of *Gades* or *Cadiz* stands for Spain, to the Germanic north, and the Scythian east, as far as "*the Tauric pool*," or sea of Azof.

70. "*both way.*" We should now say "both ways"; but, as the word "*falls*" follows, Milton probably desired to get rid of the *s*.

76. "*turbants.*" So in the original, and it is a frequent form in old writers. Milton uses it in his prose. It is the Italian form, *turbante:* the form *turban* is French.

90. "*This Emperor.*" Tiberius.

95. "*a wicked favourite.*" Sejanus.

115. "*citron tables or Atlantic stone.*" Citron-wood, from Mount Atlas, was much prized for the beauty of its veining and polish. Atlantic stone is probably Numidian marble.

117, 118. "*Their wines*," etc. The first three kinds of wine mentioned were native Italian, grown near Rome; the others were Greek.

119. "*myrrhine*," porcelain.

136. "*Peeling*," *i.e.* stripping or pillaging.

142. "*scene*," theatre.

175—177. "*It is written*," etc. Matt. iv. 10.

201. "*Tetrarchs.*" So called as sharing among them the four Elements.

234. "*idolisms*," peculiar opinions or prejudices: a word apparently of Milton's own coining.

236. "*this specular mount.*" Compare *Paradise Lost*, XII. 588, 589.

240. "*Athens, the eye of Greece.*" The phrase is attributed to Demosthenes.

241, 242. "*native . . . or hospitable*," *i.e.* either producing them or giving them welcome.

244. "*the olive-grove of Academe.*" This famous school of Plato was a garden, less than a mile beyond the walls of Athens, and derived its name from the fact that it was near ground consecrated to the Hero Akadêmus.

245. "*the Attic bird,*" the nightingale.

247—249. "*Hymettus,*" etc. A mountain near Athens, famous for its honey.

249, 250. "*Ilissus rolls his whispering stream.*" The scene of Plato's *Phædrus* is on the banks of the Ilissus.

253. "*Lyceum,*" the school of Aristotle; "*Stoa,*" a portico in Athens, decorated with paintings, which became the school of Zeno, the founder of the Stoics. The Lyceum, however, was not "within the walls."

257. "*Æolian charms and Dorian lyric odes*": Greek lyric poetry generally. Alcæus and Sappho used the Æolian dialect, Pindar and other lyrists the Doric.

259. "*Blind Melesigenes, thence Homer called.*" He was called *Melesigenes* on the idea that he had been born on the banks of the Meles in Ionia; the name *Homer* was supposed to be a contraction of three Greek words meaning "the blind man."

260. "*Whose poem Phœbus,*" etc. In a Greek epigram, quoted by Bishop Newton, Apollo is made to say, "'Twas I that sang: Homer but wrote it down."

261—266. "*the lofty grave Tragedians,*" etc. Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, are, of course, all in recollection; but in one of the phrases Milton may have been thinking most of his favourite Euripides.

267—271. "*the famous Orators,*" etc. Pericles and Demosthenes are the two most in view in the passage.

273, 274. "*the low-roofed house of Socrates.*" One of the jests of Aristophanes at Socrates was that he lived in "a little bit of a house."

275, 276. "*the oracle pronounced wisest of men.*" Socrates is himself made, in Plato's *Apology of Socrates*, to tell the story of this oracular response. His friend and admirer Chærephon had gone to the oracle of Delphi to ask the question whether any one was wiser than Socrates of Athens, and had received the answer that none was wiser.

277—280. "*all the schools of Academics old and new,*" viz.: the original Academy of Plato (died B.C. 347), the middle Academy of Arcesilas (died B.C. 271), and the

later Academy of Carneades (died B.C. 128).——"*with those surnamed Peripatetics, and the sect Epicurean, and the Stoic severe*": the followers respectively of Aristotle (died B.C. 322), Epicurus (died B.C. 270), and Zeno (died B.C. 264).

320, 321. "*her false resemblance . . . an empty cloud.*" In allusion to the story of Ixion, who, thinking to meet Juno, met a cloud substituted for her by Jupiter.

322. "*Wise men have said,*" etc. Eccles. xii. 12.

324. "*A spirit and judgment,*" etc. A remarkably anomalous line, consisting of thirteen syllables.

329. "*worth a sponge,*" *i.e.* deserving to be sponged out or obliterated.

330. "*As children gathering pebbles on the shore.*" All know the story of Sir Isaac Newton's saying about himself that he was but as a child playing on the sea-shore and amusing himself with pebble after pebble, and shell after shell, while the great ocean of truth stretched unfathomable away from him.

331—364. "*Or, if I would delight,*" etc. Notwithstanding the tone of depreciation in the last passage (lines 286-330), there was no greater admirer of the Greek literature than Milton, and Plato, though represented there as having fallen "to fabling and smooth conceits," was a teacher to whom he owed and acknowledged much. Yet that preference of the literature of the Hebrews over all the other literatures of the world which he now goes on to avow and justify (for by implication the sentiments are Milton's own) was an undoubted habit of Milton's mind from his early manhood onwards. He has expressed the same in his prose writings.

336, 337. "*in Babylon,*" etc. Ps. cxxxvii.

346—350. "*unworthy to compare with Sion's songs,*" etc. In Milton's *Reason of Church Government* there is a similar passage.

354. "*statists*": statesmen.

393. "*the starry rubric.*" A metaphor suggested by the red-letter Calendar of the Church.

415. "*the four hinges of the world.*" The four cardinal points: Lat. *cardo*, a hinge.

427. "*amice*": mantle: Lat. *amictus*, a garment.

454. "*flaws*": gusts, breaks, sudden blasts: Teutonic *flaga*. See *Par. Lost*, x. 698.

457. "*to the main*," *i.e.* to the Universe as a whole.

534. "*as a centre firm*": from the notion of the necessary stability of the centre of any sphere. Dunster quotes a similar expression from Chaucer's *Squire's Tale*: "Of his couráge, as any centre, stable."

549. "*the highest pinnacle*." Matt. iv. 5, and Luke iv. 9. In Matthew this incident of the Temptation occurs in the middle; in Luke it comes last. Milton follows Luke.

554. "*progeny*": descent, pedigree.

556—559. "*it is written*," etc. Ps. xci. 11, 12.

560, 561. "*Also it is written*," etc. Deut. vi. 16.

563—581. "*As when*," etc. The first classical comparison in this passage is from the story of the giant *Antæus*, son of the Earth and Neptune, who, wrestling with *Alcides* (Hercules) in Irassa in North Africa, and always receiving from his falls fresh strength from his mother, was at length carried up into the air by the hero and there throttled. The other is from the legend of the *Theban monster*, the Sphinx, who, when Œdipus at last solved her riddle, flung herself from the citadel of Thebes,—called here "*the Ismenian steep*," as being on the river Ismenus.

576. "*So, strook*." See note, *Ode Nat.* 95.

581. "*So Satan fell*." Observe that this is the fifth occurrence of the word *fall* in the description. It is to intensify the contrast between Satan's *falling* from the pinnacle and Christ's *standing*.

581, 582. "*a fiery globe of Angels*." See *Par. Lost*, II. 512, and note there.

612. "*be failed*": has disappeared,—in allusion to the notion, assumed in *Par. Lost* (see XI. 829 *et seq.*, and note), that, after the fall, the site of Paradise was obliterated.

619. "*an autumnal star*": a meteor or falling star. These are frequent in August.

624. "*Abaddon*." In Rev. ix. 11 *Abaddon* or *Apollyon* is the name of the Angel of the Bottomless Pit: here it stands for the Pit itself.

636—639. "*Thus they*," etc. Warton thinks these four lines a feeble ending for the poem, and regrets that it did not end at line 635. Few will agree with him.

NOTES TO SAMSON AGONISTES.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE: "*Of that sort of Dramatic Poem,*" etc. The "verse of Euripides" which St. Paul is said to have inserted into the text of Holy Scripture consists of the words "Evil communications corrupt good manners" (1 Cor. xv. 33). The "Paræus" whose opinion as to the construction of the Apocalypse Milton cites, both here and in his *Reason of Church Government*, was David Paræus, a German theologian and commentator of high note among the Calvinists (1548-1622).——When Milton says "Though the Ancient Tragedy use no Prologue," he uses "Prologue" in its modern sense as a kind of Preface to the Play, detached from the Play itself, and intended to put the audience in good humour with it beforehand. Though the Comedians Plautus and Terence had Prologues of this kind, the ancient Tragedians had none.—In the phrase "that which Martial calls an Epistle" there is an allusion to the "*Epistola ad Lectorem*" prefixed by Martial, by way of apology, to the First Book of his Epigrams.——The three terms of Greek Prosody introduced by Milton in his Preface, and printed in Italics, viz. *Monostrophic*, *Apolelymenon*, and *Allæostrophic*, may in their present connexion be translated "Single-stanzaed," "Released from the restraint of any particular measure," and "Divers-stanzaed." Milton's purpose is to explain to prosodians the metrical structure of his choruses in *Samson*. These choruses, he says, may be called *Monostrophic*, inasmuch as they run on without division into stanzas, or into the mutually balanced parts called strophe, antistrophe, and epodos in the regular musical chorus; the verse in which they are written is *Apolelymenon*, inasmuch as no particular measure is adopted, but each line is of any metre that the poet likes; or, if the choruses do sometimes seem

to divide themselves into stanzas, then *Allæostropha* would be the name for them, inasmuch as the stanzas are of different metrical patterns.

12. "*This day,*" etc. Here Samson begins his soliloquy, the person who had guided him having retired.

13. "*Dagon, their sea-idol.*" Compare *Par. Lost*, I. 457-466.

66—109. "*But, chief of all, O loss of sight,*" etc. In applying this passage to Milton himself, compare Sonnets XIX. XXII. XXIII., and *Par. Lost*, III. 1-55 and VII. 1-39.

89. "*her vacant interlunar cave,*" *i.e.* her "between moons" cave, where she hides between old moon and new moon.

133. "*Chalybean-tempered,*" *i.e.* tempered like the steel of the Chalybes, an iron-working nation of Asia Minor.

134. "*Adamantean proof.*" It is doubtful whether this means "proof against adamantean weapons" or "proof as being itself adamantean." The second meaning is the likelier. *Adamant*, literally "unsubduable," usually meant steel.

138. "*Ascalonite.*" I Sam. vi. 17.

145. "*In Ramath-lechi*": so called from "the casting away of the jaw-bone" there: the name implying the phrase. See Judges xv. 17.

147. "*Azza*": same as Gaza. See Deut. ii. 23.

148. "*Hebron, seat of giants old.*" Numb. xiii. 33 and Josh. xv. 13, 14.

150. "*Like whom the Gentiles,*" etc. The Titans: particularly Atlas.

181. "*Eshtaol and Zora's fruitful vale.*" Samson's native district in Dan. See his life in Judges; also Josh. xv. 33 and xix. 41.

191—193. "*In prosperous days,*" etc. Perhaps from Milton's own experience immediately after the Restoration.

209. "*drove me transverse,*" *i.e.* out of my course, referring to the previous image of the ship.

219. "*Timna.*" See Judges xiv. 1, where the word is "Timnath."

219—226. "*she pleased me, not my parents,*" etc. Judges xiv. 2-4.

229. "*Dalila.*" Observe the pronunciation Dalíla. See *Par. Lost*, IX. 1061, and note there.

241—255. "*That fault I take not on me,*" etc.: with an

occult reference perhaps to the conduct of those in power in England after Cromwell's death, when Milton still argued against the restoration of the King.

247. "*Used no ambition*": "ambition" here in its literal sense of "going about" or "canvassing."

268—276. "*But what more oft*," etc. A plain reference to the state of England, and to Milton's own position there, after the Restoration.

278—281. "*How Succoth*," etc. Judges viii. 5 *et seq.*

282—289. "*And how ingrateful Ephraim*," etc. Judges xii. 1 *et seq.*

297, 298. "*for of such doctrine*," etc. Psalm xiv. 1. Observe the peculiar effect of contempt given to the passage by the rapid rhythm and the sudden introduction of a rhyme.

300—306. "*Yet more there be*," etc. Again observe the effect from the peculiar versification and the rhymes.

318, 319. "*this heroic Nazarite.*" Numb. vi. 1-21.

453. "*idolists*": idolaters. See *Par. Reg.*, IV. 234.

496, 497. "*The mark of fool set on his front!*
But I God's secret have not kept, his holy secret."

So printed in the original edition, and also in the Second, only eight syllables in the first line, while there are thirteen in the second.

499—501. "*a sin that Gentiles in their parables condemn*," etc. An allusion to such stories as that of Tantalus.

516. "*what offered means who knows but*," etc.: "that offered means which who knows but," etc.—a peculiar Miltonic syntax.

531. "*affront*": meeting face-to-face.

551. "*refreshed*," *i.e.* refreshed myself.

557. "*Whose drink*," etc. Samson was a Nazarite (Judges xiii. 7), and therefore under the vow of the Nazarites (Numb. vi. 2-5).

569. "*Robustious*": full of force. Shakespeare has the word,—"a robustious periwig-pated fellow." *Ham.* III. 2.

581—583. "*caused a fountain . . . to spring*," etc. Judges xv. 18, 19. In our version of this passage it is said that "God clave a hollow space" in the jaw-bone with which Samson had fought; but Newton points out that another interpretation, which Milton follows here, supposed that the hollow space was cloven in a piece of ground (or rock) called *Lehi*, or "The Jaw."

590—598. "*All otherwise*," etc. Note the peculiar melancholy that breathes through this speech of Samson's, the singularly sorrowful cadence of the last five lines. In reading two of these, one feels as if Milton were remembering Hamlet's soliloquy—

> "How weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable
> Seem to me all the uses of this world."

610—616. "*But must*," etc. Note the sudden rhymes in lines 610, 611, and lines 615, 616. See previous notes, lines 297, 298, and 300-306.

612. "*accidents*": attributes, properties.

658, 659. "*with studied*," etc. Observe the rhyme. See previous note, 610-616.

667—686. Again note the rhymes introduced,—lines 668, 669, 672, 673, and 674, 675.

674—704. "*Nor do I name of men the common rout*," etc. It is impossible to read this passage without seeing in it a veiled reference to the trials and executions of the Regicides, and the degradation of the other chiefs of the Commonwealth, after the Restoration; and the description of Milton's own case is exact, even to the surprise that at the end of his temperate life his disease should have been *gout*.

688—691. "*To life obscured*," etc. These four lines form a peculiar rhymed stanza. See previous note, lines 300-306.

715, 716. "*Tarsus*," in Cilicia; "*the isles of Javan*," those of Greece and Ionia; "*Gadire*," Gades in Spain.

720. "*amber scent*," *i.e.* the fragrance of grey amber or ambergris. See note, *Par. Reg.*, II. 344.

759—762. "*That wisest and best men*," etc., Milton himself among them; whose reconciliation with his first wife, in July or August 1645, after her desertion of him for about two years, is thus described by his nephew Phillips: "One time above the rest, he making his usual visit [at the house of a relative, named Blackborough, living in St. Martin's-le-Grand], the wife was ready in another room, and on a sudden he was surprised to see one whom he thought to have never seen more, making submission, and begging pardon on her knees before him. He might probably at first make some show of aversion and rejection; but partly his own generous nature, more inclinable to reconciliation than

to perseverance in anger and revenge, and partly the strong intercession of friends on both sides, soon brought him to an act of oblivion and firm league of peace for the future." The wife returned to her husband's house, and lived with him about seven years, bearing him three daughters before her death in 1652. Whether the reunion was as irksome as that described in the text can also be inferred: too probably it was.

778—789. "*Was it not weakness also,*" etc. The strain here much resembles that of Eve's speech to Adam, *Par. Lost*, IX. 1155 *et seq.*

840. "*Knowing . . . by thee betrayed.*" See same idiom, *Par. Lost*, IX. 792.

936. "*adder's wisdom.*" Ps. lviii. 4, 5.

971—974. "*Fame . . . is double-mouthed.*" In Chaucer's *House of Fame*, and elsewhere, the fickle goddess is represented as having at her command two trumpets, one of gold and one of black brass. A blast from the first secures good renown for persons or deeds, a blast from the other ensures infamy; and no one ever knows on any particular occasion which will be blown.

973, 974. "*On both his wings,*" etc. The rhyme in these lines is probably intentional.

988—990. "*in Mount Ephraim Jael,*" etc. Judges iv. and v.

1010—1061. "*It is not,*" etc. Again notice, throughout this chorus, the art of the versification, and the peculiar introduction of rhymes.

1020. "*Thy paranymph,*" *i.e.* bridesman.

1034—1045. "*Whate'er it be,*" etc. Compare with this passage, so full of reference to Milton's own experience, the following from his first pamphlet on divorce: "The soberest and best-governed men are least practised in these affairs; and who knows not that the bashful muteness of a virgin may oft-times hide all the unliveliness and natural sloth which is really unfit for conversation?"

1038, 1039. "*far within defensive arms a cleaving mischief,*" *i.e.* a mischief cleaving or sticking to one far inside the armour which might defend one against ordinary mischiefs. There is an allusion to the poisoned shirt sent to Hercules by his wife Dejanira.

1048. "*combines*": agrees with him.

1053—1060. "*Therefore God's universal law,*" etc. A very decisive expression of one of Milton's doctrines, expressed several times elsewhere. Compare *Par. Lost*, x. 144 *et seq*. Once (in his *Tetrachordon*) he admits this limitation: "Not but that particular exceptions may have place, if she exceed her husband in prudence and dexterity, and he contentedly yield; for then a superior and more natural law comes in, that the wiser should govern the less wise whether male or female."

1075. "*fraught*": freight, burden.

1079. "*Men call me Harapha.*" No such individual giant is mentioned in Scripture; but see 2 Sam. xxi. 15-22. The Philistine giants mentioned there are said to be sons of a certain well-known giant in Gath called "the giant," and the Hebrew word for "the giant" there is *rapha* or *harapha*. Milton has appropriated the name to his fictitious giant, whom he makes out in the sequel (1248, 1249) to be the actual father of that brood of giants.

1080, 1081. "*Og . . . Anak . . . the Emims . . . Kiriathaim.*" Deut. iii. 11, ii. 10, 11; Gen. xiv. 5.

1120, 1121. "*brigandine,*" coat of mail; "*habergeon,*" mail for the neck and shoulders; "*vant-brace,*" mail for the arms; "*greaves,*" leg-armour; "*gauntlet,*" glove of mail.

1122. "*A weaver's beam*": Goliath's weapon, whose armour also Milton had just remembered. 1 Sam. xvii. 5-7.

1162. "*comrades,*" accented on the second syllable.

1195—1200. "*your ill-meaning politician lords,*" etc. Judges xiv. 10-18. Milton follows Jewish tradition in supposing the thirty bridal friends there mentioned to have been spies appointed by the Philistines.

1220. "*appellant*": challenger.

1222. "*thrice*": for the third time, as was the custom in challenges.

1224—1226. "*With thee,*" etc. Criminals and persons of servile condition were disqualified for "the proof of arms," or trial by combat.

1231. "*O Baal-zebub!*" Harapha fitly swears by this God, "the God of Ekron" (2 Kings i. 16); and again (1242) by the Phœnician goddess Astaroth.

1235. "*My heels are fettered,*" etc. Throughout the greater part of the play Samson is to be conceived, as this

line informs us, chained or fettered at the ankles, though still so that he could walk slowly; but not handcuffed.

1238. "*bulk without spirit vast,*" *i.e.* vast bulk without spirit: the first three words almost forming one compound noun.

1248, 1249. See previous note, line 1079, and see again 2 Sam. xxi. 15-22, for the fates of four of the five giants whom Milton takes the liberty of making sons of his Harapha. Their brother Goliath had previously been killed by David. As Samson's death, in the Biblical chronology, was eighty years before David's accession, Milton must have taken poetic licence in making the five giants killed in David's time full-grown in Samson's.

1308. "*Ebrews.*" So spelt in the original edition. The word occurs three times in *Sams. Ag.*, and each time so; it occurs but twice besides in the poetry (*Par. Reg.*, IV. 336, and Ps. cxxxvi. 50), both times as an adjective, and both times with the *H.*

1461—1471. "*Some much averse,*" etc. One may detect here a glance at the different degrees of vengefulness among the Royalists after the Restoration, and so a peculiar significance in the hint that the most vengeful of all were those that "most reverenced Dagon and his priests."

1512. "*inhabitation*": community or inhabitants. So Shakespeare (*Macb.* IV. 1):—

"Though the yesty waves
Confound and swallow navigation up."

1525, 1526. "*The sufferers,*" etc. Is the rhyme here intentional?

1527—1535. "*What if . . . and tempts belief.*" These nine lines are omitted in their proper place in the original edition, but printed on a page at the end, with a direction where to insert them.

1529. "*dole.*" The word has two meanings,—a portion dealt out (as in "a beggar's dole"), and sorrow or grief (Lat. *doleo*). The two are combined here.

1537. "*Of good or bad,*" etc. This line also is not in its proper place in the original edition, but comes as an *omission* at the end. It seems to me that it may have been an afterthought with Milton to break up what was at first a continuous speech of the Chorus, by inserting ten additional lines,